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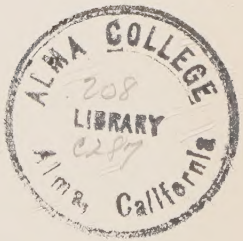

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LEO XIII.

Venerable Brethren, Health and Benediction.

1. It is sufficiently well known unto you that no small share of Our thoughts and of Our care is devoted to Our endeavour to bring back to the *fold*, placed under the guardianship of Jesus Christ, the Chief Pastor of souls, sheep that have strayed. Bent upon this, We have thought it most conducive to this salutary end and purpose to describe the exemplar and, as it were, the lineaments of the Church. Amongst these the most worthy of our chief consideration is *Unity*. This the Divine Author impressed on it as a lasting sign of truth and of unconquerable strength. The essential beauty and comeliness of the Church ought greatly to influence the minds of those who consider it. Nor is it improbable that ignorance may be dispelled by the consideration; that false ideas and prejudices may be dissipated from the minds chiefly of those who find themselves in error without fault of theirs; and that even a love for the Church may be stirred up in the souls of men, like unto that charity wherewith Christ loved and united Himself to that spouse redeemed by His precious blood. *Christ loved the Church, and delivered Himself up for it.**

If those about to come back to their most loving Mother (not yet fully known, or culpably abandoned) should perceive that their return involves, not indeed the shedding of their blood (at which price nevertheless the Church was bought by Jesus Christ), but some lesser trouble and labour, let them

* *Eph.* v. 25.

clearly understand that this burden has been laid on them not by the will of man but by the will and command of God. They may thus, by the help of heavenly grace, realise and feel the truth of the divine saying: *My yoke is sweet and My burden light.**

Wherefore, having put all Our hope in the *Father of lights*, from whom *cometh every best gift and every perfect gift* †—from Him, namely, who alone *gives the increase* ‡—We earnestly pray that He will graciously grant Us the power of bringing conviction home to the minds of men.

Human Co-operation.

2. Although God can do by His own power all that is effected by created natures, nevertheless in the counsels of His loving Providence He has preferred to help men by the instrumentality of men. And, as in the natural order He does not usually give full perfection except by means of man's work and action, so also He makes use of human aid for that which lies beyond the limits of nature, that is to say, for the sanctification and salvation of souls. But it is obvious that nothing can be communicated amongst men save by means of external things which the senses can perceive. For this reason the Son of God assumed human nature—*who being in the form of God . . . emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man* §—and thus living on earth He taught His doctrine and gave His laws, conversing with men.

The Church always Visible.

3. And, since it was necessary that His divine mission should be perpetuated to the end of time, He took to Himself Disciples, trained by Himself, and made them partakers of His own authority. And, when He had invoked upon them from Heaven the *Spirit of Truth*, He bade them go through the whole world and faithfully preach to all nations what He had taught and what He had commanded, so that by the profession of His doctrine and the observance of His laws the

* *Matt.* xi. 30. † *James* i. 17. ‡ 1 *Cor.* iii. 6. § *Philipp.* ii. 6-7.

human race might attain to holiness on earth and never-ending happiness in Heaven. In this wise, and on this principle, the Church was begotten. If we consider the chief end of this Church and the proximate efficient causes of salvation, it is undoubtedly *spiritual;* but in regard to those who constitute it, and to the things which lead to these spiritual gifts, it is *external* and necessarily visible. The Apostles received a mission to teach by visible and audible signs, and they discharged their mission only by words and acts which certainly appealed to the senses. So that their voices falling upon the ears of those who heard them begot faith in souls—*Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ.** And faith itself—that is, assent given to the first and supreme truth—though residing essentially in the intellect, must be manifested by outward profession—*for with the heart we believe unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.*† In the same way in man, nothing is more internal than heavenly grace which begets sanctity, but the ordinary and chief means of obtaining grace are external: that is to say, the sacraments which are administered by men specially chosen for that purpose, by means of certain ordinances.

Jesus Christ commanded His Apostles and their successors to the end of time to teach and rule the nations. He ordered the nations to accept their teaching and obey their authority. But this correlation of rights and duties in the Christian commonwealth not only could not have been made permanent, but could not even have been initiated except through the senses, which are of all things the messengers and interpreters.

For this reason the Church is so often called in Holy Writ a *body*, and even *the body of Christ—Now you are the body of Christ*‡—and precisely because it is a body is the Church visible; and because it is the body of Christ is it living and energizing, because by the infusion of His power Christ guards

* *Rom.* x. 17. † *Rom.* x. 10. ‡ 1 *Cor.* xii. 27.

and sustains it, just as the vine gives nourishment and renders fruitful the branches united to it. And as in animals the vital principle is unseen and invisible, and is evidenced and manifested by the movements and action of the members, so the principle of supernatural life in the Church is clearly shown in that which is done by it.

From this it follows that those who arbitrarily conjure up and picture to themselves a hidden and invisible Church are in grievous and pernicious error; as also are those who regard the Church as a human institution which claims a certain obedience in discipline and external duties, but which is without the perennial communication of the gifts of divine grace, and without all that which testifies by constant and undoubted signs to the existence of that life which is drawn from God. It is assuredly as impossible that the Church of Jesus Christ can be the one or the other as that man should be a body alone or a soul alone. The connection and union of both elements is as absolutely necessary to the true Church as the intimate union of the soul and body is to human nature. The Church is not something dead: it is the body of Christ endowed with supernatural life. As Christ, the Head and Exemplar, is not wholly in His visible human nature, which Photinians and Nestorians assert, nor wholly in the invisible divine nature, as the Monophysites hold, but is one, from and in both natures, visible and invisible; so the mystical body of Christ is the true Church only because its visible parts draw life and power from the supernatural gifts and other things whence spring their very nature and essence. But since the Church is *such* by divine will and constitution, *such* it must uniformly remain to the end of time. If it did not, then it would not have been founded as perpetual, and the end set before it would have been limited to some certain place and to some certain period of time; both of which are contrary to the truth. The union consequently of visible and invisible elements, because it harmonises with the natural order and by God's will belongs to the very essence of

the Church, must necessarily remain so long as the Church itself shall endure. Wherefore Chrysostom writes: "Secede not from the Church: for nothing is stronger than the Church. Thy hope is the Church; thy salvation is the Church; thy refuge is the Church. It is higher than the heavens and wider than the earth. It never grows old, but is ever full of vigour. Wherefore Holy Writ pointing to its strength and stability calls it a mountain."*

Also Augustine says: "Unbelievers think that the Christian religion will last for a certain period in the world and will then disappear. But it will remain as long as the sun—as long as the sun rises and sets: that is, as long as the ages of time shall roll, the Church of God—the true body of Christ on earth—will not disappear." † And in another place: "The Church will totter if its foundation shakes; but how can Christ be moved? . . . Christ remaining immovable, it [the Church] shall never be shaken. Where are they that say that the Church has disappeared from the world, when it cannot even be shaken?" ‡

He who seeks the truth must be guided by these fundamental principles: that is to say that Christ the Lord instituted and formed the Church: wherefore when we are asked what its nature is, the main thing is to see what Christ wished and what in fact He did. Judged by such a criterion it is the unity of the Church which must be principally considered; and of this, for the general good, it has seemed useful to speak in this Encyclical.

How Christ made His Church.

4. It is so evident from the clear and frequent testimonies of Holy Writ that the true Church of Jesus Christ is *one*, that no Christian can dare to deny it. But in judging and determining the nature of this unity many have erred in various ways. Not the foundation of the Church alone, but its whole consti-

* Hom. *de capto Eutropio*, n. 6. † *In Psalm.* lxxi. n. 8.
‡ *Enarratio in Psalm.* ciii., Sermo ii. n. 5.

tution, belongs to the class of things effected by Christ's free choice. For this reason the entire case must be judged by what was actually done. We must consequently investigate, not how the Church may possibly be one, but how He who founded it, willed that it should be one.

But when we consider what was actually done, we find that Jesus Christ did not, in point of fact, institute a Church to embrace several communities similar in nature, but in themselves distinct, and lacking those bonds which render the Church unique and indivisible after that manner in which in the symbol of our faith we profess: "I believe in one Church."

"The Church in respect of its unity belongs to the category of things indivisible by nature, though heretics try to divide it into many parts. . . . We say, therefore, that the Catholic Church is unique in its essence, in its doctrine, in its origin, and in its excellence. . . . Furthermore, the eminence of the Church arises from its unity, as the principle of its constitution—a unity surpassing all else, and having nothing like unto it or equal to it."* For this reason Christ, speaking of this mystical edifice, mentions only one Church, which He calls *His own—I will build My Church;* any other Church except this one, since it has not been founded by Christ, cannot be the true Church. This becomes even more evident when the purpose of the Divine Founder is considered. For what did Christ the Lord ask? What did He wish in regard to the Church founded, or about to be founded? This: to transmit to it the same mission and the same mandate which He had received from the Father, that they should be perpetuated. This He clearly resolved to do: this He actually did. *As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you.*† *As Thou hast sent Me into the world, I also have sent them into the world.*‡

* S. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromatum* lib. viii. c. 17.

† *John* xx. 21. ‡ *John* xvii. 18.

But the mission of Christ is to save *that which has perished:* that is to say, not some nations or peoples, but the whole human race, without distinction of time or place. *The Son of Man came that the world might be saved by Him;* for there is no other name under Heaven given to men whereby we must be saved.*† The Church, therefore, is bound to communicate without stint to all men, and to transmit through all ages, the salvation effected by Jesus Christ, and the blessings flowing therefrom. Wherefore, by the will of its Founder, it is necessary that this Church should be one in all lands and at all times. To justify the existence of more than one Church, it would be necessary to go outside this world, and to create a new and unheard-of race of men.

That the one Church should embrace all men everywhere and at all times was seen and foretold by Isaias, when looking into the future he saw the appearance of a mountain conspicuous by its all-surpassing altitude, which set forth the image of *the house of the Lord*—that is, of the Church. *And in the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be prepared on the top of the mountains.*‡

But this mountain which towers over all other mountains is *one;* and the house of the Lord to which *all nations* shall come to seek the rule of living is also *one. And all nations shall flow into it. And many people shall go, and say: Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and He will teach us His ways, and we will walk in His paths.*§

Explaining this passage, Optatus of Milevis says: "It is written in the prophet Isaias: *From Sion the law shall go forth and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.* For it is not on Mount Sion that Isaias sees the valley, but on the holy mountain, that is, the Church, which has raised itself conspicuously throughout the entire Roman world under the whole heavens. . . . . The Church is, therefore, the spiritual Sion in which Christ

* *John* iii. 17. † *Acts* iv. 12. ‡ *Isa.* ii. 2. § *Ibid.* ii. 2-3.

has been constituted King by God the Father, and which exists throughout the entire earth, on which there is but one Catholic Church."* And Augustine says: "What can be so manifest as a mountain, or so well known! There are, it is true, mountains which are unknown because they are situated in some remote part of the earth. . . . But this mountain is not unknown: for it has filled the whole face of the world, and about this it is said that it is prepared on the summit of the mountains."†

Christ the Head of the Church.

5. Furthermore, the Son of God decreed that the Church should be His mystical body, with which He should be united as the Head, after the manner of the human body which He assumed, to which the natural head is physiologically united. As He took to Himself a mortal body, which He gave to suffering and death in order to pay the price of man's redemption, so also He has one mystical body in which and through which He renders men partakers of holiness and of eternal salvation. *God hath made Him (Christ) head over all the Church, which is His body.*‡ Scattered and separated members cannot possibly cohere with the head so as to make one body. But St. Paul says: *All the members of the body, whereas they are many, yet are one body, so also is Christ.*§ Wherefore this mystical body he declares is *compacted and fitly jointed together. The head, Christ: from whom the whole body, being compacted and fitly jointed together, by what every joint supplieth according to the operation in the measure of every part.*‖ And so dispersed members, separated one from the other, cannot be united with one and the same head. "There is one God, and one Christ; and His Church is one and the faith is one; and one the people joined together in the solid unity of the body in the bond of concord. This unity cannot be broken, nor the one body divided by the separation

* *De Schism. Donatist.* lib. iii. n. 2.
† *In Ep. Joan.* tract. i. n. 13.
‡ *Eph.* i. 22-23.
§ 1 *Cor.* xii. 12.
‖ *Eph.* iv. 15-16.

of its constituent parts."* And to set forth more clearly the unity of the Church, he makes use of the illustration of a living body, the members of which cannot possibly live unless united to the head and drawing from it their vital force. Separated from the head they must of necessity die. "The Church," he says, "cannot be divided into parts by the separation and cutting asunder of its members. What is cut away from the mother cannot live or breathe apart."† What similarity is there between a dead and a living body? *For no man ever hated his own flesh, but nourisheth it and cherisheth it, as also Christ doth the Church: because we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones.* ‡

Another head like to Christ must be invented—that is, another Christ—if besides the one Church, which is His body, men wish to set up another. "See what you must beware of—see what you must avoid—see what you must dread. It happens that, as in the human body, some members may be cut off—a hand, a finger, a foot. Does the soul follow the amputated member? As long as it was in the body, it lived; separated, it forfeits its life. So the Christian is a Catholic as long as he lives in the body: cut off from it he becomes a heretic—the life of the spirit follows not the amputated member." §

The Church of Christ, therefore, is one and the same for ever: those who leave it depart from the will and command of Christ the Lord—leaving the path of salvation, they enter on that of perdition. "Whosoever is separated from the Church is united to an adulteress. He has cut himself off from the promises of the Church, and he who leaves the Church of Christ cannot arrive at the rewards of Christ. . . . He who observes not this unity observes not the law of God, holds not the faith of the Father and the Son, clings not to life and salvation." ‖

* S. Cyprianus, *De Cath. Eccl. Unitate*, n. 23.

† *Ibid.* ‡ *Eph.* v. 29-30. § S. Augustinus, Sermo ccclxvii. n. 4.

‖ S. Cyprianus, *De Cath. Eccl. Unitate*, n. 6.

Unity in Faith.

6. But He, indeed, who made this one Church, also gave it *unity*, that is, He made it such that all who are to belong to it must be united by the closest bonds, so as to form one society, one kingdom, one body—*one body and one spirit, as you are called in one hope of your calling.** Jesus Christ, when His death was nigh at hand, declared His will in this matter, and solemnly offered it up, thus addressing His Father: *Not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in Me . . . That they also may be one in Us . . . that they may be made perfect in one.*† Yea, He commanded that this unity should be so closely knit and so perfect amongst His followers that it might, in some measure, shadow forth the union between Himself and His Father: *I pray that they all may be one as Thou Father in Me and I in Thee.* ‡

Agreement and union of minds is the necessary foundation of this perfect concord amongst men, from which concurrence of will and similarity of action are the natural results. Wherefore, in His divine wisdom, He ordained in His Church *Unity of Faith:* a virtue which is the first of those bonds which unite man to God, and whence we receive the name of the *faithful—one Lord, one faith, one baptism.* § That is, as there is one Lord and one baptism, so shall all Christians, without exception, have but one faith. And so the Apostle St. Paul not merely begs, but entreats and implores Christians to be all of the same mind, and to avoid difference of opinions. *I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms amongst you, and that you be perfect in the same mind and in the same judgment.* ‖ Such passages certainly need no interpreter: they speak clearly enough for themselves. Besides, all who profess Christianity allow that there can be but one faith. It is of the greatest importance and indeed of absolute necessity, as

* *Eph.* iv. 4. † *John* xvii. 20, 21, 23.
‡ *Ibid.* 21. § *Eph.* iv. 5. ‖ 1 *Cor.* i. 10.

to which many are deceived, that the nature and character of this unity should be recognised. And, as we have already stated, this is not to be ascertained by conjecture, but by the certain knowledge of what was done: that is by seeking for and ascertaining what kind of unity in faith has been commanded by Jesus Christ.

The kind of Unity in Faith commanded by Christ.

7. The heavenly doctrine of Christ, although for the most part committed to writing by divine inspiration, could not unite the minds of men if left to the human intellect alone. It would, for this very reason, be subject to various and contradictory interpretations. This is so, not only because of the nature of the doctrine itself and of the mysteries it involves, but also because of the divergencies of the human mind and of the disturbing element of conflicting passions. From a variety of interpretations a variety of beliefs is necessarily begotten: hence come controversies, dissensions and wranglings such as have arisen in the past, even in the first ages of the Church. Irenæus writes of heretics as follows: "Admitting the Sacred Scriptures they distort the interpretations." * And Augustine: "Heresies have arisen, and certain perverse views ensnaring souls and precipitating them into the abyss, only when the Scriptures, good in themselves, are not properly understood." † Besides Holy Writ it was absolutely necessary, to ensure this union of men's minds—to effect and preserve unity of ideas—that there should be another *principle*. This the wisdom of God requires: for He could not have willed that the faith should be *one* if He did not provide means sufficient for the preservation of this unity: and this Holy Writ clearly sets forth, as We shall presently point out. Assuredly the infinite power of God is not bound by anything: all things obey it as so many passive instruments. In regard to this external principle, therefore, we must enquire which one of all the means in His power Christ did actually adopt.

* Lib. iii. cap. 12, n. 12.

† *In Evang. Joan.* tract. xviii. cap. 5, n. 1.

For this purpose it is necessary to recall in thought the institution of Christianity.

The Magisterium (or Teaching-Authority) of the Church to be Perpetual.

8. We are mindful only of what is witnessed to by Holy Writ and what is otherwise well known. Christ proves His own divinity and the divine origin of His mission by miracles; He teaches the multitudes heavenly doctrine by word of mouth; and He absolutely commands that the assent of faith should be given to His teaching, promising eternal rewards to those who believe and eternal punishment to those who do not. *If I do not the works of My Father, believe Me not.* * *If I had not done among them the works that no other man had done, they would not have sin.* † *But if I do* (the works), *though you will not believe Me, believe the works.* ‡ Whatsoever He commands, He commands by the same authority. He requires the assent of the mind to all truths without exception. It was thus the duty of all who heard Jesus Christ, if they wished for eternal salvation, not merely to accept His doctrine as a whole, but to assent with their entire mind to all and every point of it, since it is unlawful to withhold faith from God even in regard to one single point.

When about to ascend into Heaven He sends His Apostles in virtue of the same power by which He had been sent from the Father; and He charges them to spread abroad and propagate His teaching. *All power is given to Me in Heaven and in earth. Going therefore teach all nations . . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* § So that those obeying the Apostles might be saved, and those disobeying should perish: *He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned.* ‖ But since it is obviously most in harmony with God's providence that no one should have confided to him a great and important mission unless he were furnished with the means of properly carrying it out, for this reason Christ promised that He would

* *John* x. 37. † *Ibid.* xv. 24. ‡ *Ibid.* x. 38.
§ *Matt.* xxviii. 18, 19, 20. ‖ *Mark* xvi. 16.

send the Spirit of Truth to His Disciples to remain with them for ever. *But if I go I will send Him* (the Paraclete) *to you. . . . But when He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will teach you all Truth.** *And I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you for ever, the Spirit of Truth.*† *He shall give testimony of Me, and you shall give testimony.*‡ Hence He commands that the teaching of the Apostles should be religiously accepted and piously kept as if it were His own—*He who hears you hears Me: he who despises you despises Me.*§ Wherefore the Apostles are ambassadors of Christ as He is the ambassador of the Father. *As the Father sent Me, so also I send you.*‖ Hence as the Apostles and Disciples were bound to obey Christ, so also those whom the Apostles taught were, by God's command, bound to obey them. And therefore it was no more allowable to repudiate one iota of the Apostles' teaching than it was to reject any point of the doctrine of Christ Himself.

Truly the voice of the Apostles, when the Holy Ghost had come down upon them, resounded throughout the world. Wherever they went they proclaimed themselves the ambassadors of Christ Himself. *By whom* (Jesus Christ) *we have received grace and Apostleship for obedience to the Faith in all nations for His name.*¶ And God makes known their divine mission by numerous miracles. *But they going forth preached everywhere: the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed.*** But what is this word? That which comprehends all things, that which they had learnt from their Master; because they openly and publicly declare that they cannot help speaking of what they had seen and heard.

But, as we have already said, the Apostolic mission was not destined to die with the Apostles themselves, or to come to an end in the course of time, since it was intended for the people at large and instituted for the salvation of the

* *John* xvi. 7, 13. † *Ibid.* xiv. 16-17. ‡ *Ibid.* xv. 26-27.
§ *Luke* x. 16. ‖ *John* xx. 21. ¶ *Rom.* i. 5. ** *Mark* xvi. 20.

human race. For Christ commanded His Apostles to preach the *Gospel to every creature, to carry His name to nations and kings, and to be witnesses to Him to the ends of the earth.* He further promised to assist them in the fulfilment of their high mission, and that, not for a few years or centuries only, but for all time—*even to the consummation of the world.* Upon which St. Jerome says: "He who promises to remain with His Disciples to the end of the world declares that they will be for ever victorious, and that He will never depart from those who believe in Him."* But how could all this be realised in the Apostles alone, placed as they were under the universal law of dissolution by death? It was consequently provided by God that the *Magisterium* instituted by Jesus Christ should not end with the life of the Apostles, but that it should be perpetuated. We see it in truth propagated and, as it were, delivered from hand to hand. For the Apostles consecrated bishops, and each one appointed those who were to succeed them immediately *in the ministry of the word.*

Nay more: they likewise required their successors to choose fitting men, to endow them with like authority, and to confide to them the office and mission of teaching. *Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace which is in Christ Jesus: and the things which thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, the same command to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others also.*† Wherefore, as Christ was sent by God and the Apostles by Christ, so the bishops and those who succeeded them were sent by the Apostles. "The Apostles were appointed by Christ to preach the Gospel to us. Jesus Christ was sent by God. Christ is therefore from God, and the Apostles from Christ, and both according to the will of God. . . . Preaching therefore the word through the countries and cities, when they had proved in the Spirit the first-fruits of their teaching, they appointed bishops and deacons for the faithful. . . . They appointed them and then ordained them, so that when

* *In Matt.* lib. iv. cap. 28, v. 20. † 2 *Tim.* ii. 1-2.

they themselves had passed away other tried men should carry on their ministry."* On the one hand, therefore, it is necessary that the mission of teaching whatever Christ had taught should remain perpetual and immutable, and on the other that the duty of accepting and professing all their doctrine should likewise be perpetual and immutable. "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when in His Gospel He testifies that those who are not with Him are His enemies, does not designate any special form of heresy, but declares that all heretics who are not with Him and do not gather with Him, scatter His flock and His adversaries: *He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth.*"†

Every revealed Truth, without exception, must be accepted.

9. The Church, founded on these principles and mindful of her office, has done nothing with greater zeal and endeavour than she has displayed in guarding the integrity of the faith. Hence she regarded as rebels and expelled from the ranks of her children all who held beliefs on any point of doctrine different from her own. The Arians, the Montanists, the Novatians, the Quartodecimans, the Eutychians, did not certainly reject all Catholic Doctrine: they abandoned only a certain portion of it. Still who does not know that they were declared heretics and banished from the bosom of the Church? In like manner were condemned all authors of heretical tenets who followed them in subsequent ages. "There can be nothing more dangerous than those heretics who admit nearly the whole cycle of doctrine, and yet by one word, as with a drop of poison, infect the real and simple faith taught by our Lord and handed down by Apostolic tradition."‡

The practice of the Church has always been the same, as is shown by the unanimous teaching of the Fathers, who were wont to hold as outside Catholic Communion and alien to

* S. Clemens Rom. *Epist. I. ad Corinth.* capp. 42, 44.
† St. Cyprianus, Ep. lxix. ad Magnum, n. 1.
‡ Auctor *Tract. de Fide Orthodoxa contra Arianos.*

the Church whoever would recede in the least degree from any point of doctrine proposed by her authoritative Magisterium. Epiphanius, Augustine, Theodoret, drew up a long list of the heresies of their times. St. Augustine notes that other heresies may spring up, to a single one of which, should anyone give his assent, he is by the very fact cut off from Catholic unity. "No one who merely disbelieves in all [these heresies] can for that reason regard himself as a Catholic or call himself one. For there may be or may arise some other heresies, which are not set out in this work of ours, and if anyone holds to one single one of these he is not a Catholic." *

The need of this divinely instituted means for the preservation of unity, about which we speak, is urged by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians. In this he first admonishes them to preserve with every care concord of minds: *Solicitous to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*† And as souls cannot be perfectly united in charity unless minds agree in faith, he wishes all to hold the same faith: *One Lord, one faith;* and this so perfectly *one* as to prevent all danger of error: *that henceforth we be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive:* ‡ and this he teaches is to be observed, not for a time only, *but until we all meet in the unity of faith . . . . unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ.* § But in what has Christ placed the primary principle, and the means of preserving this unity? In that—*He gave some Apostles, and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.* ‖

Wherefore, from the very earliest times the fathers and doctors of the Church have been accustomed to follow and, with one accord, to defend this rule. Origen writes: "As often as the

* S. Augustinus, *De Hæresibus*, n. 88. † *Eph.* iv. 3, *et seq.*
‡ *Eph.* iv. 14. § *Ibid.* 13. ‖ *Ibid.* 11-12.

heretics allege the possession of the canonical scriptures, to which all Christians give unanimous assent, they seem to say: 'Behold the word of the truth is in the houses.' But we should believe them not and abandon not the primary and ecclesiastical tradition. We should believe not otherwise than has been handed down by the tradition of the Church of God."* Irenæus too says: "The doctrine of the Apostles is the true faith . . . . which is known to us through the Episcopal succession . . . . which has reached even unto our age by the very fact that the Scriptures have been zealously guarded and fully interpreted."† And Tertullian: "It is therefore clear that all doctrine which agrees with that of the Apostolic Churches—the matrices and original centres of the faith, must be looked upon as the truth, holding without hesitation that the Church received it from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God. . . . We are in communion with the Apostolic Churches, and by the very fact that they agree amongst themselves we have a testimony of the truth."‡ And so Hilary: "Christ teaching from the ship signifies that those who are outside the Church can never grasp the divine teaching; for the ship typifies the Church where the word of life is deposited and preached. Those who are outside are like sterile and worthless sand: they cannot comprehend."§ Rufinus praises Gregory of Nazianzum and Basil because "they studied the text of Holy Scripture alone, and took the interpretation of its meaning not from their own inner consciousness, but from the writings and on the authority of the ancients, who in their turn, as it is clear, took their rule for understanding the meaning from the Apostolic succession."‖

Wherefore, as appears from what has been said, Christ instituted in the Church a *living*, *authoritative* and *permanent Magisterium*, which by His own power He strengthened, by the Spirit of truth He taught, and by miracles confirmed. He

* *Vetus Interpretatio Commentariorum in Matt.* n. 46.
† *Contra Hæreses*, lib. iv. cap. 33, n. 8. ‡ *De Præscrip.* cap. xxxi.
§ *Comment. in Matt.* xiii. n. 1. ‖ *Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. cap. 9.

willed and ordered, under the gravest penalties, that its teachings should be received as if they were His own. As often, therefore, as it is declared on the authority of this teaching that this or that is contained in the deposit of divine revelation, it must be believed by everyone as true. If it could in any way be false, an evident contradiction follows; for then God Himself would be the author of error in man. "Lord, if we be in error, we are being deceived by Thee." * In this wise, all cause for doubting being removed, can it be lawful for anyone to reject anyone of those truths without by the very fact falling into heresy?—without separating himself from the Church?—without repudiating in one sweeping act the whole of Christian teaching? For such is the nature of faith that nothing can be more absurd than to accept some things and reject others. Faith, as the Church teaches, is "that supernatural virtue by which, through the help of God and through the assistance of His grace, we believe what He has revealed to be true, not on account of the intrinsic truth perceived by the natural light of reason, but because of the authority of God Himself, the Revealer, who can neither deceive nor be deceived." † If then it be certain that anything is revealed by God and this is not believed, then nothing whatever is believed by divine faith: for what the Apostle St. James judges to be the effect of a moral delinquency, the same is to be said of an erroneous opinion in the matter of faith. *Whosoever shall offend in one point, is become guilty of all.* ‡ Nay, it applies with greater force to an erroneous opinion. For it can be said with less truth that every law is violated by one who commits a single sin, since it may be that he only virtually despises the majesty of God the Legislator. But he who dissents even in one point from divinely revealed truth absolutely rejects all faith, since he thereby refuses to honour God as the supreme truth and the *formal motive of faith.* "In many

* Richardus de S. Victore, *De Trin.* lib. i. cap. 2.
† *Conc. Vat.* Sess. iii. cap. 3. ‡ *James* ii. 10.

things they are with me, in a few things not with me; but in those few things in which they are not with me, the many things in which they are will not profit them." * And this indeed most deservedly; for they who take from Christian doctrine what they please, lean on their own judgments, not on faith; and not *bringing into captivity every understanding unto the obedience of Christ,* † they more truly obey themselves than God. "You who believe what you like of the Gospels and believe not what you like, believe yourselves rather than the Gospel." ‡

For this reason the Fathers of the Vatican Council laid down nothing new, but followed divine revelation and the acknowledged and invariable teaching of the Church as to the very nature of faith, when they decreed as follows: "All those things are to be believed by divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the written or unwritten word of God, and which are proposed by the Church as divinely revealed, either by a solemn definition or in the exercise of its ordinary and universal Magisterium." § Hence, as it is clear that God absolutely willed that there should be unity in His Church, and as it is evident what kind of unity He willed, and by means of what principle He ordained that this unity should be maintained, we may address the following words of St. Augustine to all who have not deliberately closed their minds to the truth: "When we see the great help of God, such manifest progress and such abundant fruit, shall we hesitate to take refuge in the bosom of that Church which, as is evident to all, possesses the supreme authority of the Apostolic See through the Episcopal succession? In vain do heretics rage round it; they are condemned partly by the judgment of the people themselves, partly by the weight of Councils, partly by the splendid evidence of miracles. To refuse to

* St. Augustinus, *in Psalm.* liv. n. 19. † 2 *Cor.* x. 5.
‡ St. Augustinus, lib. xvii. *contra Faustum Manichæum,* cap. 3.
§ Sess. iii. cap. 3.

the Church the primacy, is most impious and above measure arrogant. And if all learning, no matter how easy and common it may be, in order to be fully understood requires a teacher and master, what can be greater evidence of pride and rashness than to be unwilling to learn about the books of the divine mysteries from the proper interpreter, and to wish to condemn them unknown?" *

It is then undoubtedly the office of the Church to guard Christian doctrine and to propagate it in its integrity and purity. But this is not all: the object for which the Church has been instituted is not wholly attained by the performance of this duty. For, since Jesus Christ delivered Himself up for the salvation of the human race, and to this end directed all His teaching and commands, so He ordered the Church to strive, by the truth of its doctrine, to sanctify and to save mankind. But faith alone cannot compass so great, excellent, and important an end. There must needs be also the fitting and devout worship of God, which is to be found chiefly in the divine Sacrifice and in the dispensation of the Sacraments, as well as salutary laws and discipline. All these must be found in the Church, since it continues the mission of the Saviour for ever. The Church alone offers to the human race that religion—that state of absolute perfection—which He wished, as it were, to be *incorporated* in it. And it alone supplies those means of salvation which accord with the ordinary counsels of Providence.

The Church a Divine Society.

10. But as this heavenly doctrine was never left to the arbitrary judgment of private individuals, but, in the beginning delivered by Jesus Christ, was afterwards committed by Him exclusively to the Magisterium already named, so the power of performing and administering the divine mysteries, together with the authority of ruling and governing, was not bestowed by God on all Christians indiscriminately, but on certain chosen persons. For to the Apostles and their legitimate successors alone these words have

* *De Unitate Credendi*, cap. xvii. n. 35.

reference: *Going into the whole world, preach the Gospel. Baptising them. Do this in commemoration of Me. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them.* And in like manner He ordered the Apostles only and those who should lawfully succeed them to *feed*—that is to govern with authority—all Christian souls. Whence it also follows that it is necessarily the duty of Christians to be subject and to obey. And these duties of the Apostolic office are, in general, all included in the words of St. Paul: *Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God.**

Wherefore Jesus Christ bade all men, present and future, follow Him as their leader and Saviour; and this, not merely as individuals, but as forming a society, organised and united in mind. In this way a duly constituted society should exist, formed out of the divided multitude of peoples, one in faith, one in end, one in the participation of the means adapted to the attainment of the end, and one as subject to one and the same authority. To this end He established in the Church all those principles which necessarily tend to make organised human societies, and through which they attain the perfection proper to each. That is, in it (the Church) all who wished to be the sons of God by adoption might attain to the perfection demanded by their high calling, and might obtain salvation. The Church, therefore, as We have said, is man's guide to whatever pertains to Heaven. This is the office appointed unto it by God—that it may watch over and may order all that concerns religion, and may, without let or hindrance, exercise, according to its judgment, its charge over Christianity. Wherefore they who pretend that the Church has any wish to interfere in Civil matters, or to infringe upon the rights of the State, know it not, or wickedly calumniate it.

God indeed even made the Church a society far more perfect than any other. For the end for which the Church exists is as much higher than the end of other societies as divine grace is above nature, as immortal blessings are above the transitory things

* 1 *Cor.* iv. 1.

on the earth. Therefore the Church is a society *divine* in its origin, *supernatural* in its end and in the means proximately adapted to the attainment of that end; but it is a *human* community inasmuch as it is composed of men. For this reason we find it called in Holy Writ by names indicating a perfect society. It is spoken of as *the House of God*, the *city placed upon the mountain* to which all nations must come. But it is also the *fold* presided over by one Shepherd, and into which all Christ's sheep must betake themselves. Yea, it is called *the kingdom which God has raised up* and which *will stand for ever*. Finally it is the *body of Christ* —that is, of course, His *mystical* body, but a body living and duly organised and composed of many members; members indeed which have not all the same functions, but which, united one to the other, are kept bound together by the guidance and authority of the head.

Indeed no true and perfect human society can be conceived which is not governed by some supreme authority. Christ therefore must have given to His Church a supreme authority to which all Christians must render obedience. For this reason, as the unity of the faith is of necessity required for the unity of the Church, inasmuch as it is the *body of the faithful*, so also for this same unity, inasmuch as the Church is a divinely constituted society, unity of government, which effects and involves *unity of communion*, is necessary *jure divino*. "The unity of the Church is manifested in the mutual connection or communication of its members, and likewise in the relation of all the members of the Church to one head." *

From this it is easy to see that men can fall away from the unity of the Church by schism as well as by heresy. "We think that this difference exists between heresy and schism," writes St. Jerome: "heresy has no perfect dogmatic teaching, whereas schism, through some Episcopal dissent, also separates from the Church." † In which judgment St. John Chrysostom concurs:

* S. Thomas, 2a 2æ, 9, xxxix. a. 1.

† S. Hieronymus, *Comment. in Epist. ad Titum*, cap. iii. v. 10-11.

"I say and protest," he writes, "that it is as wrong to divide the Church as to fall into heresy."* Wherefore as no heresy can ever be justifiable, so in like manner there can be no justification for schism. "There is nothing more grievous than the sacrilege of schism . . . there can be no just necessity for destroying the unity of the Church." †

The Supreme Authority Founded by Christ.

11. The nature of this supreme authority, which all Christians are bound to obey, can be ascertained only by finding out what was the evident and positive will of Christ. Certainly Christ is a King for ever; and though invisible, He continues unto the end of time to govern and guard His Church from Heaven. But since He willed that His kingdom should be visible, He was obliged, when He ascended into Heaven, to designate a vice-gerent on earth. "Should anyone say that Christ is the one head and the one shepherd, the one spouse of the one Church, he does not give an adequate reply. It is clear, indeed, that Christ is the author of grace in the sacraments of the Church: it is Christ Himself who baptises; it is He who forgives sins; it is He who is the true priest who hath offered Himself upon the altar of the cross, and it is by His power that His body is daily consecrated upon the altar; and still, because He was not to be visibly present to all the faithful, He made choice of ministers through whom the aforesaid sacraments should be dispensed to the faithful, as said above (cap. 74). For the same reason, therefore, because He was about to withdraw His visible presence from the Church, it was necessary that He should appoint someone in His place, to have the charge of the Universal Church. Hence before His Ascension He said to Peter: Feed My sheep." ‡

Jesus Christ, therefore, appointed Peter to be the head of the Church: and He also determined that the authority instituted in perpetuity for the salvation of all should be inherited by his

* *Hom.* xi. *in Epist. ad Ephes.* n. 5.

† S. Augustinus, *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani*, lib. ii. cap. ii. n. 25.

‡ S. Thomas, *Contra Gentiles*, lib. iv. cap. 76.

successors, in whom the same permanent authority of Peter himself should continue. And so He made that remarkable promise to Peter and to no one else: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church.** "To Peter the Lord spoke: to *one* therefore, that He might establish unity upon one."† "Without any prelude He mentions St. Peter's name and that of his father *(Blessed art thou, Simon son of John)*, and He does not wish him to be called any more Simon; claiming him for Himself, according to His divine authority He aptly names him Peter, from *petra* the rock, since upon him He was about to found His Church." ‡

The universal Jurisdiction of St. Peter.

12. From this text it is clear that by the will and command of God the Church rests upon St. Peter, just as a building rests on its foundation. Now the proper nature of a foundation is to be a principle of cohesion for the various parts of the building. It must be the necessary condition of stability and strength. Remove it and the whole building falls. It is consequently the office of St. Peter to support the Church and to guard it in all its strength and indestructible unity. How could he fulfil this office without the power of commanding, forbidding, and judging, which is properly called *jurisdiction?* It is only by this power of jurisdiction that nations and commonwealths are held together. A primacy of honour and the shadowy right of giving advice and admonition, which is called *direction*, could never secure to any society of men unity or strength. The words—*And the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*—proclaim and establish the authority of which we speak. "What is the *it?*" writes Origen. "Is it the rock upon which Christ builds the Church, or the Church? The expression indeed is ambiguous, as if the rock and the Church were one and the same. I indeed think that this is so, and that neither against the rock upon which Christ builds His Church nor against the

* *Matt.* xvi. 18. † S. Pacianus ad Sempronium Ep. iii. n. 11.
‡ S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *in Evang. Joan.* lib. ii. in cap. i. v. 42.

Church shall the gates of Hell prevail."* The meaning of this divine utterance is, that, notwithstanding the wiles and intrigues which they bring to bear against the Church, it can never be that the Church committed to the care of Peter shall succumb or in any wise fail. "For the Church, as the edifice of Christ, who has wisely built *His house upon a rock*, cannot be conquered by the gates of Hell, which may prevail over any man who shall be off the rock and outside the Church, but shall be powerless against it."† Therefore God confided His Church to Peter so that he might safely guard it with his unconquerable power. He invested him, therefore, with the needful authority: since the right to rule is absolutely required by him who has to guard human society really and effectively. This, furthermore, Christ gave: *To thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.* And He is clearly still speaking of the Church, which a short time before He had called *His own*, and which He declared He wished to build on Peter as on a foundation. The Church is typified not only as an *edifice* but as a *Kingdom*, and every one knows that the keys constitute the usual sign of governing authority. Wherefore when Christ promised to give to Peter the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, He promised to give Him power and authority over the Church. "The Son committed to Peter the office of spreading the knowledge of His Father and Himself over the whole world. He who increased the Church in all the earth, and proclaimed it to be stronger than the Heavens, gave to a mortal man all power in Heaven when He handed him the keys."‡ In this same sense He says: *Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth it shall be bound also in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth it shall be loosed also in Heaven.* This metaphorical expression of binding and loosing indicates the power of making laws, of judging and of punishing; and the power is said to be of such amplitude and force that God will ratify whatever is decreed

* Origenis *Comment. in Matt.* tom. xii. n. ii. † *Ibid.*
‡ S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *Hom.* liv. *in Matt.* v. 2.

by it. Thus it is supreme and absolutely independent, so that, having no other power on earth as its superior, it embraces the whole Church and all things committed to the Church.

The promise is carried out when Christ the Lord after His Resurrection, having thrice asked Peter whether he loved Him more than the rest, lays on him the injunction: *Feed My lambs—feed My sheep.* That is, He confides to Him, without exception, all those who were to belong to His fold. "The Lord does not hesitate. He interrogates, not to learn but to teach. When He was about to ascend into Heaven He left us, as it were, a vice-gerent of His love . . and so, because Peter alone of all others professes his love, he is preferred to all—that being the most perfect he should govern the more perfect."*

These then are the duties of a shepherd: to place himself as leader at the head of his flock, to provide proper food for it, to ward off dangers, to guard against insidious foes, to defend it against violence: in a word to rule and govern it. Since therefore Peter has been placed as shepherd of the Christian flock, he has received the power of governing all men for whose salvation Jesus Christ shed His blood. "Why has He shed His blood? To buy the sheep which He handed over to Peter and his successors." †

And since all Christians must be closely united in the communion of one immutable faith, Christ the Lord, in virtue of His prayers, obtained for Peter that in the fulfilment of his office he should never fall away from the faith—*But I have asked for thee that thy faith fail not;* ‡ and He furthermore commanded him to impart light and strength to his brethren as often as the need should arise: *Confirm thy brethren.* § He willed then that he whom He had designated as the foundation of the Church should be the defence of its faith. "Could not Christ, who confided to him the Kingdom by His own authority,

* S. Ambrosius, *Exposit. in Evang. secundum Lucam*, lib. x. nn. 175-176.

† S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Sacerdotio*, lib. ii.

‡ *Luke* xxii. 32. § *Ibid.*

have strengthened the faith of one whom He designated a rock to show the foundation of the Church?" * For this reason Jesus Christ willed that Peter should participate in certain names, signs of great things which properly belong to Himself alone: in order that identity of titles should show identity of power. So He who is Himself *the chief corner-stone in whom all the building being framed together, groweth up into a holy temple in the Lord*, † placed Peter as it were *a stone* to support the Church. "When he heard, *Thou art a rock*, he was ennobled by the announcement. Although he is a rock, not as Christ is a rock, but as Peter is a rock. For Christ is by His very being an immovable rock; Peter only through this rock. Christ imparts His gifts, and is not exhausted. . . . He is a priest, and makes priests. He is a rock, and constitutes a rock." ‡ He who is the King of His Church, *who hath the key of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, who shutteth and no man openeth*, § having delivered *the keys* to Peter, declared him Prince of the Christian commonwealth. So too, He, the Great Shepherd, who calls Himself *the Good Shepherd*, constituted Peter the pastor *of His lambs and sheep. Feed My lambs, feed My sheep.* Wherefore Chrysostom says: "He was pre-eminent among the Apostles: he was the mouthpiece of the Apostles and the head of the Apostolic College . . . at the same time showing him that henceforth he ought to have confidence, and as it were blotting out his denial, He commits to him the government of his brethren. . . . He saith to him: 'If thou lovest Me, be over My brethren.' Finally He who confirms in *every good work and word* ‖ commands Peter *to confirm his brethren.*"

Rightly, therefore, does St. Leo the Great say: "From the whole world Peter alone is chosen to take the lead in calling all nations, to be the head of all the Apostles and of all the

* S. Ambrosius, *De Fide*, lib. iv. n. 56. † *Eph.* ii. 21.
‡ *Hom. de Pœnitentia*, n. 4 in Appendice opp. S. Basilii.
§ *Apoc.* iii. 7. ‖ 2 *Thess.* ii. 16.

Fathers of the Church. So that, although in the people of God there are many priests and many pastors, Peter should by right rule all of those over whom Christ Himself is the chief ruler."* And so St. Gregory the Great, writing to the Emperor Maurice Augustus, says: "It is evident to all who know the Gospel that the charge of the whole Church was committed to St. Peter, the Apostle and Prince of all the Apostles, by the word of the Lord. . . . Behold! he hath received the keys of the heavenly kingdom—the power of binding and loosing is conferred upon him: the care of the whole government of the Church is confided to him."†

The Roman Pontiffs possess supreme power in the Church *Jure Divino.*

13. It was necessary that a government of this kind, since it belongs to the constitution and formation of the Church, as its principal element—that is as the principle of unity and the foundation of lasting stability—should in no wise come to an end with St. Peter, but should pass to his successors from one to another. "There remains, therefore, the ordinance of truth, and St. Peter, persevering in the strength of the rock which he had received, hath not abandoned the government of the Church which had been confided to him."‡ For this reason the Pontiffs who succeed Peter in the Roman Episcopate receive the supreme power in the Church, *jure divino.* "We define," declare the Fathers of the Council of Florence, "that the Holy and Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff holds the primacy of the Church throughout the whole world: and that the same Roman Pontiff is the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles and the true Vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, and the father and teacher of all Christians; and that full power was given to him, in Blessed Peter, by our Lord Jesus Christ to feed, to rule, and to govern the universal Church, as is also contained in the acts of œcumenical

* Sermo iv. cap. 2. † Epist. lib. v. Epist. xx.
‡ S. Leo M., Sermo iii. cap. 3.

Councils and in the sacred canons." * Similarly the Fourth Council of Lateran declares: "The Roman Church, as the mother and mistress of all the faithful, by the will of Christ obtains primacy of jurisdiction over all other Churches." These declarations were preceded by the consent of antiquity which ever acknowledged, without the slightest doubt or hesitation, the Bishops of Rome, and revered them as the legitimate successors of St. Peter. Who is unaware of the many and evident testimonies of the holy Fathers which exist to this effect? Most remarkable is that of St. Irenæus, who, referring to the Roman Church, says: "With this Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority, it is necessary that every Church should be in concord;" † and St. Cyprian also says of the Roman Church that "it is the root and mother of the Catholic Church, the chair of Peter, and the principal Church whence sacerdotal unity has its source." ‡ He calls it *the chair of Peter* because it is occupied by the successor of Peter: he calls it the *principal Church* on account of the primacy conferred on Peter himself and his legitimate successors; and *the source of unity*, because the Roman Church is the efficient cause of unity in the Christian commonwealth. For this reason Jerome addresses Damasus thus: "My words are spoken to the successor of the Fisherman, to the disciple of the Cross. . . I communicate with none save your Blessedness, that is, with the chair of Peter. For this I know is the rock on which the Church was built." § Union with the Roman See of Peter is to him always the public criterion of a Catholic. "I acknowledge everyone who is united with the See of Peter." ‖ And for a like reason St. Augustine publicly attests that "the primacy of the Apostolic chair always existed in the Roman Church;" ¶ and he denies that anyone who dissents from the Roman faith can be a Catholic. "You are not to

* *Conc. Florentinum.* † *Contra Hæreses*, lib. iii. cap. 3, n. 2.
‡ Ep. xlviii. ad Cornelium, n. 3, and Ep. lix. ad eundem, n. 14.
§ Ep. xv. ad Damasum, n. 2. ‖ Ep. xvi. ad Damasum, n. 2. ¶ Ep. xliii. n. 7.

be looked upon as holding the true Catholic faith if you do not teach that the faith of Rome is to be held." * So, too, St. Cyprian: "To be in communion with Cornelius is to be in communion with the Catholic Church." † In the same way Maximus the Abbot teaches that obedience to the Roman Pontiff is the proof of the true faith and of legitimate communion. "Therefore if a man does not want to be, or to be called, a heretic, let him not strive to please this or that man . . . but let him hasten before all things to be in communion with the Roman See. If he be in communion with it, he should be acknowledged by all and everywhere as faithful and orthodox. He speaks in vain who tries to persuade me of the orthodoxy of those who, like himself, refuse obedience to His Holiness the Pope of the most holy Church of Rome, that is, to the Apostolic See." The reason and motive of this he explains to be that "the Apostolic See has received and hath government, authority, and power of binding and loosing from the Incarnate Word Himself; and, according to all holy synods, sacred canons and decrees, in all things and through all things, in respect of all the holy churches of God throughout the whole world, since the Word in Heaven, who rules the Heavenly powers, binds and loosens there." ‡

Wherefore what was acknowledged and observed as Christian faith, not by one nation only nor in one age, but by the East and by the West, and through all ages, this Philip, the priest, the Pontifical legate at the Council of Ephesus, no voice being raised in dissent, recalls: "No one can doubt: yea, it is known unto all ages, that St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith and the ground of the Catholic Church, received the keys of the kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ. That is: the power of forgiving and retaining sins was given to him who, up to the present time, lives and exercises judgment in the persons of his successors." §

* Sermo cxx. n. 13. † Ep. lv. n. 1.

‡ *Defloratio ex Epistola ad Petrum illustrem.* § Actio iii.

The pronouncement of the Council of Chalcedon on the same matter is present to the minds of all: "Peter has spoken through Leo;" * to which the voice of the Third Council of Constantinople responds as an echo: "The chief Prince of the Apostles was fighting on our side: for we have had as our ally his follower and the successor to his See: and the paper and the ink were seen, and Peter spoke through Agatho." †

In the formula of Catholic faith drawn up and proposed by Hormisdas, which was subscribed at the beginning of the sixth century in the great Eighth Council by the Emperor Justinian, by Epiphanius, John and Menna, the Patriarchs, this same is declared with great weight and solemnity. "For the pronouncement of our Lord Jesus Christ saying: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church*, etc., cannot be passed over. What is said is proved by the result, because Catholic faith has always been preserved without stain in the Apostolic See." ‡ We have no wish to quote every available declaration; but it is well to recall the formula of faith which Michael Paleologus professed in the Second Council of Lyons: "The same holy Roman Church possesses the sovereign and plenary primacy and authority over the whole Catholic Church, which, truly and humbly, it acknowledges to have received together with the plenitude of power from the Lord himself, in the person of St. Peter, the Prince or Head of the Apostles, of whom the Roman Pontiff is the successor. And as it is bound to defend the truth of faith beyond all others, so also if any question should arise concerning the faith it must be determined by its judgment." §

Bishops belong to the Essential Constitution of the Church.

14. But if the authority of Peter and his successors is plenary and supreme, it is not to be regarded as the sole authority. For He who made Peter the foundation of the Church also *chose twelve, whom He called Apostles;* ‖ and just as it is

* Actio ii. † Actio xviii. ‡ Post Epistolam xxvi. ad omnes Episc. Hispan. n. 4. § Actio iv. ‖ *Luke* vi. 13.

necessary that the authority of Peter should be perpetuated in the Roman Pontiff, so, by the fact that the bishops succeed the Apostles, they inherit their ordinary power, and thus the Episcopal order necessarily belongs to the essential constitution of the Church. Although they do not receive plenary, or universal, or supreme authority, they are not to be looked on as *vicars* of the Roman Pontiffs; because they exercise a power really their own, and are most truly called the *ordinary* pastors of the peoples over whom they rule.

But since the successor of Peter is one, and those of the Apostles are many, it is necessary to examine into the relations which exist between him and them according to the divine constitution of the Church. Above all things the need of union between the bishops and the successors of Peter is clear and undeniable. This bond once broken, Christians would be separated and scattered, and would in no wise form one body and one flock. "The safety of the Church depends on the dignity of the Chief Priest, to whom, if an extraordinary and supreme power is not given, there are as many schisms to be expected in the Church as there are priests."* It is necessary, therefore, to bear this in mind, viz., that nothing was conferred on the Apostles apart from Peter, but that several things were conferred upon Peter apart from the Apostles. St. John Chrysostom in explaining the words of Christ asks: "Why, passing over the others, does He speak to Peter about these things?" And he replies unhesitatingly and at once, "Because he was pre-eminent among the Apostles, the mouthpiece of the Disciples, and the head of the college."† He alone was designated as the foundation of the Church. To him He gave the power of *binding* and *loosing*: to him alone was given the power of *feeding*. On the other hand, whatever authority and office the Apostles received, they received in conjunction with Peter. "If the divine benignity willed anything to be in common between him and the other princes, whatever he did not deny to the others He gave only

* S. Hieronymus, *Dialog. contra Luciferianos*, n. 9

† *Hom.* lxxxviii. *in Joan.* n. 1

through him. So that whereas Peter alone received many things, He conferred nothing on any of the rest without Peter participating in it."*

Bishops separated from Peter and his Successors lose all Jurisdiction.

15. From this it must be clearly understood that bishops are deprived of the right and power of ruling, if they deliberately secede from Peter and his successors; because, by this secession, they are separated from the foundation on which the whole edifice must rest. They are therefore outside the *edifice* itself; and for this very reason they are separated from the *fold*, whose leader is the Chief Pastor; they are exiled from the *Kingdom*, the keys of which were given by Christ to Peter alone.

These things enable us to see the heavenly ideal and the divine exemplar of the constitution of the Christian commonwealth, namely: When the Divine Founder decreed that the Church should be one in faith, in government, and in communion, He chose Peter and his successors as the principle and centre, as it were, of this unity. Wherefore St. Cyprian says: "The following is a short and easy proof of the faith. The Lord saith to Peter: *I say to thee thou art Peter*; on him alone He buildeth His Church; and although after His Resurrection He gives a similar power to all the Apostles and says: *As the Father hath sent Me*, etc., still in order to make the necessary unity clear, by His own authority He laid down the source of that unity as beginning from one."† And Optatus of Milevis says: "You cannot deny that you know that in the city of Rome the Episcopal chair was first conferred on Peter. In this Peter, the head of all the Apostles (hence his name Cephas), has sat; in which chair alone unity was to be preserved for all, lest any of the other Apostles should claim anything as exclusively his own. So much so that he who would place another chair against that one chair, would be a schismatic and a sinner."‡ Hence the

* Leo M., Sermo iv. cap. 2. † *De Unit. Eccl.*, n. 4.
‡ *De Schism. Donat.* lib. ii.

teaching of Cyprian that heresy and schism arise and are begotten from the fact that due obedience is refused to the supreme authority. "Heresies and schisms have no other origin than that obedience is refused to the priest of God, and that men lose sight of the fact that there is one judge in the place of Christ in this world."* No one, therefore, unless in communion with Peter can share in his authority, since it is absurd to imagine that he who is outside can command in the Church. Wherefore Optatus of Milevis blamed the Donatists for this reason: "Against which gates [of hell] we read that Peter received the saving keys, that is to say, our prince, to whom it was said by Christ: *To thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the gates of Hell shall not conquer them.* Whence is it therefore that you strive to obtain for yourselves the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven—you who fight against the chair of Peter?" †

But the Episcopal order is rightly judged to be in communion with Peter, as Christ commanded, if it be subject to and obeys Peter; otherwise, it necessarily becomes a lawless and disorderly crowd. It is not sufficient for the due preservation or the unity of the faith that the head should merely have been charged with the office of superintendent, or should have been invested solely with a power of direction. But it is absolutely necessary that he should have received real and sovereign authority which the whole community is bound to obey. What had the Son of God in view when he promised the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to Peter *alone? Biblical usage* and the unanimous teaching of the Fathers clearly show that supreme authority is designated in the passage by the word *keys.* Nor is it lawful to interpret in a different sense what was given to Peter alone, and what was given to the other Apostles conjointly with him. If the power of binding, loosening and feeding confers upon each and every one of the bishops, the successors of the Apostles, a real authority to rule the people committed to him, certainly the

* Epist. xii. ad Cornelium, n. 5. † Lib. ii. n. 4-5.

same power must have the same effect in his case to whom the duty of feeding the lambs and sheep has been assigned by God. "Christ constituted [Peter] not only pastor but pastor of pastors: Peter therefore feeds the lambs and feeds the sheep, feeds the children and feeds the mothers, governs the subjects and rules the prelates, because the lambs and the sheep form the whole of the Church."* Hence those remarkable expressions of the ancients concerning St. Peter, which most clearly set forth the fact that he was placed in the highest degree of dignity and authority. They frequently call him "the prince of the College of the Disciples: the prince of the holy Apostles: the leader of that choir: the mouthpiece of all the Apostles: the head of that family: the ruler of the whole world: the first of the Apostles: the safeguard of the Church." In this sense St. Bernard writes as follows to Pope Eugenius: "Who art thou? The great priest: the high priest. Thou art the prince of bishops and the heir of the Apostles. . . . Thou art he to whom the keys were given. There are it is true other gatekeepers of Heaven and other pastors of flocks, but thou art so much the more glorious as thou hast inherited a different and more glorious name than all the rest. They have flocks consigned to them, one to each: to thee all the flocks are confided as one flock to one shepherd, and not alone the sheep but the shepherds. You ask how I prove this? From the words of the Lord. To which—I do not say—of the bishops, but even of the Apostles have all the sheep been so absolutely and unreservedly committed? If thou lovest Me, Peter, feed My sheep. Which sheep? Of this or that people, of this city, or country, or kingdom? *My* sheep, He says: to whom therefore is it not evident that He does not designate some but all? We can make no exception where no distinction is made."†

But it is opposed to the truth, and in evident contradiction with the divine constitution of the Church, to hold that while

* S. Brunonis Episcopi Signiensis *Comment. in Joan.* part. iii. cap. 21, n. 55.

† *De Consideratione*, lib. ii. cap. 8.

each Bishop is *individually* bound to obey the authority of the Roman Pontiffs, taken *collectively* the Bishops are not so bound. For it is the nature and object of the foundation to support the unity of the whole edifice and to give stability to it, rather than to *each component part;* and in the present case this is much more applicable, since Christ the Lord wished that by the strength and solidity of the foundation the gates of Hell should be prevented from prevailing against the Church. All are agreed that the divine promise must be understood of the Church as a whole, and not of any certain portions of it. These can indeed be overcome by the assaults of the powers of hell, and in point of fact has befallen some of them. Moreover, he who is set over the whole flock must have authority, not only over the sheep dispersed throughout the Church, but also when they are assembled together. Do the sheep when they are all assembled together rule and guide the shepherd? Do the successors of the Apostles assembled together constitute the foundation on which the successor of St. Peter rests in order to derive therefrom strength and stability? Surely jurisdiction and authority belong to him in whose power have been placed the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, not alone in all provinces taken singly, but in all taken collectively. And as the Bishops, each in his own district, command with real power not only individuals but the whole community, so the Roman Pontiffs, whose jurisdiction extends to the whole Christian commonwealth, must have all its parts, even taken collectively, subject and obedient to their authority. Christ the Lord, as we have quite sufficiently shown, made Peter and his successors His *vicars*, to exercise for ever in the Church the power which He exercised during His mortal life. Can the Apostolic College be said to have been above its Master in authority?

This power over the Episcopal College to which we refer, and which is clearly set forth in Holy Writ, has ever been acknowledged and attested by the Church, as is clear from the teaching of General Councils. "We read that the Roman Pontiff has

pronounced judgment on the prelates of all the Churches; we do not read that anybody has pronounced sentence on him." * The reason for which is stated thus: "There is no authority greater than that of the Apostolic See." † Wherefore Gelasius on the decrees of Councils says: "That which the First See has not approved of cannot stand; but what it has thought well to decree has been received by the whole Church." ‡ It has ever been unquestionably the office of the Roman Pontiffs to ratify or to reject the decrees of Councils. Leo the Great rescinded the acts of the conciliabulum of Ephesus. Damasus rejected those of Rimini, and Hadrian I. those of Constantinople. The 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon, by the very fact that it lacks the assent and approval of the Apostolic See, is admitted by all to be worthless. Rightly, therefore, has Leo X. laid down in the 5th Council of Lateran "that the Roman Pontiff alone, as having authority over all Councils, has full jurisdiction and power to summon, to transfer, to dissolve Councils, as is clear, not only from the testimony of Holy Writ, from the teaching of the Fathers and of the Roman Pontiffs, and from the decrees of the sacred canons, but from the teaching of the very Councils themselves." Indeed, Holy Writ attests that the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to Peter alone, and that the promise of binding and loosening was granted to the Apostles and to Peter; but there is nothing to show that the Apostles received supreme power *without Peter*, and *against Peter*. Such power they certainly did not receive from Jesus Christ. Wherefore, in the decree of the Vatican Council as to the nature and authority of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, no newly conceived opinion is set forth, but the venerable and constant belief of every age.§

* Hadrianus II. *in Allocutione* iii. *ad Synodum Romanum* an. 869. Cf. Actionem vii. Conc. Constantinopolitani IV.

† Nicolaus in Epist. lxxxvi. ad Michael. Imperat. "It is evident that the judgment of the Apostolic See, than which there is no authority greater, may be rejected by no one, nor is it lawful for anyone to pass judgment on its judgment."

‡ Epist. xxvi. ad Episcopos Dardaniæ, n. 5. § Sess. iv. cap. 3.

Nor does it beget any confusion in the administration that Christians are bound to obey a twofold authority. We are prohibited in the first place by divine wisdom from entertaining any such thought, since this form of government was constituted by the counsel of God Himself. In the second place we must note that the due order of things and their mutual relations are disturbed if there be a twofold magistracy of the same rank set over a people, neither of which is amenable to the other. But the authority of the Roman Pontiff is supreme, universal, independent; that of the bishops limited and dependent. "It is not congruous that two superiors with equal authority should be placed over the same flock; but that two, one of whom is higher than the other, should be placed over the same people is not incongruous. Thus the parish priest, the bishop, and the Pope are placed immediately over the same people." * So the Roman Pontiffs, mindful of their duty, wish above all things that the divine constitution of the Church should be preserved. Therefore, as they defend with all necessary care and vigilance their own authority, so they have always laboured and will continue to labour that the authority of the bishops may be upheld. Yea, they look upon whatever honour or obedience is given to the bishops as paid to themselves. "My honour is the honour of the universal Church. My honour is the strength and stability of my brethren. Then am I honoured when due honour is given to everyone." †

Appeal to Sheep not of the Fold.

16. In what has been said We have faithfully described the exemplar and form of the Church as divinely constituted. We have treated at length of its unity: We have explained sufficiently its nature, and pointed out the way in which the Divine Founder of the Church willed that it should be preserved. There is no reason to doubt that all those who by Divine Grace and mercy have had the happiness to have been born, as it were, in

* S. Thomas *in* IV. *Sent.* dist. xvii. a. 4, ad q. 4, ad 3.

† S. Gregorius M. *Epistolarum* lib. viii, Ep. xxx. ad Eulogium.

the bosom of the Catholic Church, and to have lived in it, will listen to Our Apostolic Voice—"*My sheep hear My voice*" *—and that they will derive from Our words fuller instruction and a more perfect disposition to keep united with their respective pastors, and through them with the supreme pastor, so that they may remain more securely within the one fold, and may derive therefrom a greater abundance of salutary fruit. But We, notwithstanding Our unfitness for this great dignity and office, govern by virtue of the authority conferred on Us by Jesus Christ, as We *look on Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith*, † feel Our heart fired by His charity. What Christ has said of Himself We may truly repeat of Ourselves—"*Other sheep I have that are not of this fold: them also I must bring and they shall hear My voice.*" ‡ Let all those, therefore, who detest the widespread irreligion of our times, and acknowledge and confess Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and the Saviour of the human race, but who have wandered away far from the Spouse, listen to Our voice. Let them not refuse to obey Our paternal charity. Those who acknowledge Christ must acknowledge Him wholly and entirely. "The Head and the body are Christ wholly and entirely. The Head is the only begotten Son of God, the body is His Church; the bridegroom and the bride, two in one flesh. All who dissent from the Scriptures concerning Christ, although they may be found in all places in which the Church is found, are not in the Church; and again all those who agree with the Scriptures concerning the Head, and do not communicate in the unity of the Church, are not in the Church." §

And with the same yearning Our soul goes out to those whom the foul breath of irreligion has not entirely corrupted, and who at least seek to have the true God, the Creator of Heaven and earth, as their Father. Let such as these take counsel with themselves, and realise that they can in no wise be counted

* *John* x. 27. † *Heb.* xii. 2. ‡ *John* x. 16.

§ S. Augustinus, *Contra Donatistas Epistola*, sive *De Unit. Eccl.*, cap. iv. n. 7.

among the children of God, unless they take Christ Jesus as their Brother, and at the same time the Church as their Mother. We lovingly address to all the words of St. Augustine: "Let us love the Lord our God: let us love His Church: the Lord as our Father, the Church as our Mother. Let no one say, I go indeed to idols, I consult fortune-tellers and soothsayers; but I leave not the Church of God: I am a Catholic. Clinging to thy Mother, thou offendest thy Father. Another too says: Far be it from me: I do not consult fortune-telling, I seek not soothsaying, I seek not profane divinations, I go not to the worship of devils, I serve not stones; but I am on the side of Donatus. What doth it profit thee not to offend the Father, who avenges an offence against the Mother? What doth it profit to confess the Lord, to honour God, to preach Him, to acknowledge His Son, and to confess that He sits on the right hand of the Father, if you blaspheme His Church? . . . If you had a beneficent friend, whom you honoured daily—and even once calumniated his spouse, would you ever enter his house? Hold fast, therefore, O dearly beloved, hold fast all together God as your Father, and the Church as your Mother." *

Above all things, trusting in the mercy of God, who is able to move the hearts of men and to incline them as and when He pleases, We most earnestly commend to His loving-kindness all those of whom We have spoken. As a pledge of Divine grace, and as a token of Our affection, We lovingly impart to you, in the Lord, Venerable Brethren, to your clergy and people, Our Apostolic Blessing.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, the 29th day of June, in the year 1896, and the nineteenth of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII., POPE.

* *Enarratio in Psal.* lxxxviii. sermo ii. n. 14.

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Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.

BY MGR. W. CROKE ROBINSON.

ROBERT Grosseteste, the famous Bishop of Lincoln (A.D. 1235—1253), is claimed by all sorts and conditions of Protestants as the great medieval champion of British ecclesiastical rights against the so-called encroachments of Rome. He is commonly quoted as evidence of the fact that Papal jurisdiction never sat comfortably upon the English nation. His example is of peculiar value for this purpose (so it is maintained), because being for a great part of his life an ardent supporter of the claims of the See of Rome, at the last he was forced, in spite of himself, to give up his allegiance, and died in violent opposition to the Papal system. Such is the account given in ordinary Protestant histories and biographical articles[1] of the life of this celebrated man.

Canon Perry, of Lincoln, in his *Life and Times of Grosseteste*,[2] does not shrink from stating that

> Robert Grosseteste was the Protestant of the thirteenth century, but he was a Protestant on the highest Church principles, and from the conviction that the Papal system

[1] See, for instance, Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, article "Grosseteste."
[2] Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This book is often quoted by Anglicans.

in its practical working was anti-Christian and destructive of souls.[1]

Again, on the same page, he says:

He was the most ardent supporter of Rome of his day, but he died, if not excommunicated, yet cursed and reviled by the Pope.

Again:[2]

His extreme hierarchical views led him, for the greater part of his career, to pay the most complete deference to the Pope as the head of the Church on earth, and to be ready, without scruple or fear, to listen to his commands rather than to those of the King or State. But, together with extreme views as to Church power, Grosseteste also held the most intensely earnest opinions as to the obligations of the clerical office and the pastoral care. For a long time he strove to reconcile these deep, practical convictions with the theory which assigned so high a place to the Pope and the Court of Rome. At length, the manifest iniquities tolerated and upheld by the Pope, produced in him a complete revulsion. From being, in his view, the representative of God, the Pope became the very minister of Satan.

Finally,[3] we are told that,

had his life been a few years prolonged, it may be easily believed that he would have been the leader in a general rejection by England of the preposterous claims of Rome.

Dr. Creighton, Bishop of Peterborough, in a lecture delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral on November 21, 1895, seems practically to adopt the same view, in language moderate indeed, but most misleading. If correctly reported,[4] he concludes that "Grosseteste, devoted to the ecclesiastical system as he was, and

[1] P. 6. [2] *Ibid.* p. 292. [3] *Ibid.* p. 295.
[4] *Church Times*, November 29, 1895.

an absolutely devout son of the Pope, was driven, in spite of himself, into *antagonism to that system.*" Observe here the delightfully vague expression which we have italicized. If it means that Grosseteste opposed several acts of Papal administration concerning his own diocese, or even the English nation at large, we have no contention with Dr. Creighton. If, however, it is designed to convey the impression that Grosseteste died in virtual denial of Papal prerogative in general, then we do not think that Dr. Creighton is to be congratulated upon the fallacious argument from the particular to the universal.

In reply to these Anglican contentions, we shall try specially to keep two points in view: (1) what was the attitude of Grosseteste towards the Holy See in the earlier part of his life; (2) and whether it became changed to any extent in his later years.

It will be well to begin with some sketch of the authorities on which we may rely.

Of primary importance, as collecting the materials for our history, is the edition of the Epistles of Grosseteste by Henry Richards Luard, M.A., late Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. The author for many years made Grosseteste his special study, and pursued his researches not only in the libraries of these countries, but also in that of the Vatican, where a large part of these epistles is preserved. It may be as well to mention that Luard, though a fair-minded man and a scholar, shows no bias in favour of the Catholic Church.

Next in importance are the editions, by the same

humble parents. To his lowly origin we find allusion in the Lanercost Chronicle and in Matthew Paris, who states that in the subsequent quarrel of the Canons of Lincoln with Grosseteste, they expressed their regret that a man of such humble origin should have been raised by them to so high a dignity. Of his early life we know scarcely anything. He was sent to Oxford by his friends, where he studied law and medicine. All modern authors state that from Oxford he proceeded to Paris, though this is not mentioned in any contemporary history; and there, probably, he was grounded in Greek and Hebrew. It was not long before he returned to Oxford, where he graduated in Divinity, and became Master of the School, or Chancellor,[1] as is proved by a paper in the Registry at Lincoln of the year 1294. How long he remained at Oxford is uncertain; but with the University he identified himself in great measure during his whole life. He saw clearly the immense influence such an institution might have over the whole country, and he apparently never lost sight of this. For this reason, among others, he was led to patronize the two Orders of Friars, the Dominicans and Franciscans, who came, as will be seen later on, into England during his early career at Oxford. It is most probable that he was the means of introducing to Oxford the Franciscans, to whom he was especially devoted. By their help he hoped to carry out his reforms, expecting that their teaching and example would stimulate the other clergy to greater devotedness of life. Soon after becoming Doctor (in 1224)

[1] The Chancellor in those days was always resident, and Director-General of the studies of the whole University.

he became the first lecturer to the Franciscans, as well as their first Rector, and probably continued in this office till his election to the see of Lincoln. At this time he began that series of writings which evince his prodigious learning, and which it will be opportune here once for all to particularize. Besides innumerable sermons and theological treatises, he wrote a large number of works on both physical and mental philosophy, commentaries on Aristotle and Boethius, translations from the Greek, French poems, works on husbandry, &c. He possessed considerable knowledge of medicine and of music, and played with great skill on the harp. It is difficult to understand how a man of such active habits and constant occupation could have found time to master, far more to write, so much. Doubtless many books and tracts have been fathered upon him, as is constantly the case with voluminous writers of the middle ages. Yet so many undoubted works proceeded from his pen, that there can be no question of the universality of his genius and his well-merited fame as an author, in the age—be it remembered—of St. Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus.[1] And yet, as will be seen, his fame in our own days, at all events till quite recently, has been kept green by one single letter;[2] a very small proportion of his works having been published.[3]

To proceed with his life. He was made Archdeacon of Wilts in 1214; became Archdeacon of

[1] St. Thomas Aquinas died in 1274, and Albertus Magnus in 1280.

[2] No. cxxviii. The numbers by which Grosseteste's letters are referred to are those in Luard's collection.

[3] A list of these may be found in the Appendix to Brown's *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum*, written towards the close of the sixteenth century.

Northampton, and then of Leicester. He held the prebend of Clifton in Lincoln Cathedral, and was parish priest of Abbotsley, in Huntingdonshire. In 1232, however, he was seized with a violent fever, and possibly in consequence resigned all his preferments except his prebend at Lincoln. Nothing from that time is known of him till 1234, when he is ascertained to have been at his beloved Oxford. In February, 1235, Hugh de Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, died, and the Chapter at once elected Grosseteste as his successor. After some dispute as to the place of his consecration between the monks of Canterbury and the Archbishop, he was consecrated at Reading by St. Edmund on June 3rd, 1236, and enthroned about Candlemas, 1237.[1]

The diocese of Lincoln was at this period of enormous size, comprising the archdeaconries of Lincoln, Leicester, Stowe, Buckingham, Huntingdon, Northampton, Oxford, and Bedford. Not only might the ordinary administration of such a diocese make the episcopal heart quail, but, alas! to this must be added the rectifying of abuses which had been allowed to exist under the laxer rule of some of his predecessors. Nothing, however, appeared to daunt the "terrible Bishop." He set to work at once with characteristic vigour to purify that portion of the heavenly vineyard committed to his care.

Meanwhile let us endeavour to determine the general condition of things with which he had to deal.

As has been well remarked:

> The monks had been the factors of civilization to the English people, but had worked exclusively in the country.

[1] Le Neve's *Fasti*, vol. ii. p. 10.

The towns still awaited their missionaries. In social status they were at a very low ebb, whilst they were not richer in material appearance or construction than the most remote Irish or Scotch village of to-day, the municipal element was highly developed. Self-government existed to an extraordinary extent with ignorance, squalor, and unsanitariness. The Mendicant Orders were made for the town just as the monks for the country; and of none is this truer than of the Franciscans.[1]

The introduction of the Friars was the providential remedy for existing social evils, and Grosseteste, as we have already observed, was not slow to recognize it, and avail himself of their aid. Of the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, who came to England in 1219, of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, introduced into England in 1221, of the Carmelites, or White Friars, whose arrival was in 1240, Grosseteste was the devoted friend, but chiefly of the Franciscans.

Wherever he went he took some of them with him. In one of his epistles[2] he begs of the Minister-General of the Franciscans that, as there are no such valuable assistants as the Friars Minor, two or four of them may be always with him.

Next we have to deal with the clerical order and the abuses already alluded to. Doubtless manifold miseries and scandals existed at this period, as indeed at every period of ecclesiastical history. They were forecast by our Lord as in the first place permitted by Divine providence, and then as being certain to occur. But it may well be questioned if the picture is altogether so black as is painted, especially by

[1] Cf. Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana*, Preface, p. xiv. Rolls Series.

[2] See also epp. xl. xli. lviii. lix.

those whose melancholy interest it is to defame the Spouse of Christ. Anyhow, we shall confine ourselves in this inquiry chiefly to those evils which Grosseteste himself in his various epistles has occasion to rebuke and reform. These are to be found in epistle xxii. of the year 1236, in epistle lii. of the year 1238, which includes his Constitutions, and in epistle cvii. of the year 1244 (probably). The Bishop condemns in the strongest terms the presence of the clergy at "scot-ales,"[1] or ale-parties, which oftentimes during these ages were held not only for convivial purposes, but to raise money for charitable objects. Again he sternly prohibits the abuse known as "the Feast of Fools,"[2] as did not only Grosseteste, but also most of the Popes and Bishops all along the middle ages. This "Feast of Fools" was in reality the old heathen festival of the January kalends. The first day of the new year from time immemorial and among all peoples was set apart as a day of general "license" and levity, in which, *e.g.*, the slave reclined on his master's seat at table, the master waited on his slave, and society for the moment seemed to be turned upside down. This pagan feast was gradually introduced into ecclesiastical observance, probably with the view, in the first instance, of weaning the minds of converts from these pagan

[1] For an account of these, see *Discipline of Drink*, p. 107, by Father Bridgett, C.SS.R. Burns and Oates.

[2] For the *Feast of Asses* and *Feast of Fools*, see Maitland's *Dark Ages*, pp. 146, seq., where also may be found the best available exposition of the absurdity, as well as wickedness, of accounting things like these as evidence of the depravity of the times. It need scarcely be said that Maitland was not a Catholic. His famous book was written in 1848, whilst he was Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. See also an excellent article in Chambers' *Encyclopedia*, vol. iv. p. 721.

ceremonies. It is easy to see what watchfulness was required to preserve such institutions from abuse.

Again, the vigils of saints' days, funerals, celebrations of patronal feasts, were at times made into the occasions of riot and debauchery, through the negligence of the pastors of the flocks. Here and there, too, were to be found priests who recited their Breviary very badly or not at all; others, jealous of the Friars, prevented the people from confessing to them; others exacted a sum of money in return for Holy Communion. But the most serious abuse is to be found in epistle cvii., where the Bishop writes that—

> He has heard from good authority (*ex relatu fide digno audivimus*) that several priests of a certain archdeaconry are guilty of immorality (*focarias habent*), though in his visitation of the archdeaconry he himself has not been able to discover it, because probably the offenders are screened by those who ought to bring them to justice, and who would not shrink from perjury for that purpose.

Still the phrase, *ex relatu fide digno audivimus*, must fairly be taken as implying the comparative infrequency of such offences, and would scarcely be used by the Bishop, if they were so wide-spread and notorious as we are asked to believe by some authors.

In another epistle[1] we find Grosseteste remonstrating with the importation from abroad of certain immoral monks into the monastery at Minting. Dr. Luard remarks upon these: "The way in which they are spoken of would incline us to believe the case an exceptional one."[2]

In an earlier epistle[3] is contained a vehement exhortation to an immoral clergyman.

[1] Ep. cviii. [2] *Grosseteste's Letters*, Preface, p. xxv. n. 2. [3] Ep. x.

Finally,[1] we find one more possible allusion to abuses of this nature in the phrase, *illecti fœdis voluptatibus.* These are the only passages, as far as we know, to be found in the epistles of Grosseteste, which refer to any licentiousness among the clergy of his day. From other sources, especially the epistles of Adam de Marisco,[2] the famous Franciscan theologian and precursor of the Franciscan schoolmen, who was the life-long friend and adviser of Grosseteste, we gather that, whilst on the one hand the zeal of the Reformers seems to have preserved every nauseous scrap and morsel of anecdote or ballad that could reflect on the morals of the priests and monks of this period; yet, on the other hand, undoubtedly a dark account of the times remains. As regards Giraldus Cambrensis, Welsh ecclesiastic and historian of the period, who is commonly quoted by non-Catholic authors as irrefragable evidence of the utter corruption of the age, we may "reduce his universal propositions to particulars, his plurals to singulars, yet in many respects he is not far wrong."[3] We do not wish to withhold a particle of truth in this unsavoury matter; but we affirm, with all who are worthy of the name of scholars, that the day has gone by for No-Popery invective against abuses which all right-minded men, whether Catholic or Protestant, deplore, but which, under the Divine permission and through human frailty, can never be altogether suppressed. The time is also happily gone by for arguing from particular abuses

[1] Ep. cxxx.

[2] See especially Brewer's *Monumenta Franciscana*, vol. i. ep. xlix. Rolls Series.

[3] See *The Month* (August, 1880), article by Father John Rickaby, S.J.

to universal degradation; for reading epistles and constitutions of this or that bishop directed against certain existing scandals, and then dubbing the whole body ecclesiastical as scandalous. Canon Perry's work on Grosseteste is on this account completely out of date. Let it be remembered that, if abuses did exist, the remedy was always at hand. Let it be remembered too that in this very age, when the whole head is represented by non-Catholics to be sick, and the whole heart faint, no less than three canonized Saints appear on the page of English history, St. Edmund of Canterbury (died November 16, 1242), St. Richard of Chichester (April 3, 1253), and St. Thomas of Hereford (August 25, 1382), whilst, outside our own shores, there were doing battle for Holy Church, St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventure, St. Louis of France, St. Ferdinand of Castile, and St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Is it not altogether more reasonable to affirm with the editor of the second volume of *Franciscan Monuments*,[1] that the many vocations to the religious life of this period,

> Can be signs of nothing less than a rallying of the strength of that piety which has never in the darkest times died out from the Church to so great an extent as her enemies are eager to assert?

To proceed with our story.

In the year 1237 was held the great Council of London,[2] under the presidency of Cardinal Otho, in which a strenuous attempt was made to deprive

[1] *Monumenta Franciscana*, vol. ii. Preface, p. x. Rolls Series.

[2] Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 647; see also Lyndwood's *Provinciale* in the Appendix; also Collier, vol. ii. p. 453.

pluralists of all their benefices but one, and Constitutions and Canons were promulgated which seem long to have been the principal rules for the Church in England. It was on the strength of these Conciliar regulations that Grosseteste sent his own Constitutions[1] through his diocese. If we are to believe Matthew Paris, it was in consequence of the severity of his efforts to carry them into effect that the Bishop's life was attempted by poison, from which he recovered with great difficulty.

It soon became manifest that no power on earth, neither Papal nor regal, neither ecclesiastical nor civil, could induce the Bishop to institute to a benefice one whom he considered incompetent. It was not, as is generally maintained, that he was opposed only to Papal provisions, nor was he actuated by a stupid national prejudice against foreigners as such; for he once desired a Franciscan friar to provide six or

[1] Luard, *ibid.* pp. 154, seq. Among these are several which give great scandal to Protestant historians. Thus almost all of these writers draw particular attention to the prohibition of the custom of saying Mass with vinegar. Here we have a ludicrous instance of the misleadings of prejudice. The prohibition in question merely means that in those days when good wine was scarce, and perhaps expensive, and even the best was liable to grow sour far more quickly than the wine of modern days, priests must be very careful to renew it frequently. This is why the same prohibition so frequently occurs in the canons of contemporary synods and episcopal Constitutions. We need not, then, vex our souls about the alleged enormous scandal and detriment to spiritual interests of invalid consecrations. In his *History of the Holy Eucharist*, Father Bridgett tells us (vol. i. p. 171) that although foreign wine could be always procured in England even from the times of the Roman invasion, yet until the union of the vine-growing provinces of France with the English crown, it was native wine that was in general use. Even as far north as Derbyshire the vine was grown. Yet, he adds, it is probable that the native wine was rather pure than excellent. Sour or poor wine could be mixed with honey and spices for table use. Of course no mixture of this sort was allowed in altar-wine, and care is frequently recommended in the Canons that it should not be too sour.

seven foreign clerks, by whose exemplary conduct he might benefit his diocese, even if they could not speak English. Thus, says Eccleston, he refused the nominees of the Pope and Cardinals, not because they were foreign and ignorant of English, but because they sought only temporal things.[1]

These energetic and probably somewhat intemperate proceedings[2] naturally raised a storm of opposition from the King, the barons, the clergy, and from his own Chapter. In the year 1239 began the famous quarrel between the latter and Grosseteste. Among other visitations of his diocese he included that of the Dean and Chapter. This claim was at once vehemently opposed by that body, on the ground that it had never been heard of before from the earliest times.[3] They produced a document stating that when the see of Lincoln was founded under William Rufus, it was settled that any delinquent member of the Chapter should in the first instance be visited and punished only by the Dean or the Chapter, the Bishop's authority being invoked, and behind the Bishop's, the King's, only in the eventuality of the delinquent member resisting the Dean or Chapter. This settlement, according to the document in question, was ratified by two Cardinal Legates who had received Apostolic authority for the purpose. Luard regards this document as a forgery, and thinks the Chapter must have known it to be such. Matthew

[1] *Life of St. Edmund.* By Dom W. Wallace, O.S.B., p. 178.

[2] Luard's *Epistles of Grosseteste*, Preface, p. xlvii.

[3] The complete organization of a modern or medieval Chapter—the Bishop, the *quatuor personæ*, *i.e.*, dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer—the archdeacons and canons, &c., is not found till the Norman times and the twelfth century. (Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 349; but see Note A.)

Paris, however, does not make any such suggestion nor does the document purport to be more than a memorandum of certain historical facts. It does not purport to be the authoritative charter itself. What may have been the real truth about this claim cannot nowadays be determined. According to modern ecclesiastical law the Bishop's claim would be unimpeachable. But it was such as might have been over-ridden by long-established custom or formal Papal privilege such as was invoked.[1]

The case excited a great deal of attention in the country, each diocese feeling that these proceedings would settle the question for itself also. It appeared at the first as if the dispute would be easily settled. Otho, the Papal Legate, imagined that he had only to appear before the contending parties, when the strife would cease. It very soon became evident that recourse must be had to the Pope. The Chapter took the initiative: appointed in secret an agent at the Papal Court, and issued a mandate to the vicars and chaplains ministering in the prebends and churches belonging to the Chapter, to refuse submission to the Bishop if he attempted to visit them. Eventually it was agreed between the disputants that application should be made to the Pope to commit the whole question to the Bishop of Worcester, Walter de Cantilupe, and the Archdeacons of Worcester and Sudbury, who were either to decide on the entire case without allowing any appeal; or, after the cause had been sufficiently investigated, by a certain day to be named by the Pope, to submit it to him to be finally settled, each

[1] *Chronica Majora*, iv. p. 155.

party in the meantime ceasing from exercising any visitatorial power. It was thought that by this arrangement the business was at an end, but for six long and weary years the life of the Bishop was embittered by the sad contention. At the end of that time, Pope Gregory IX. had died, as likewise his successor, Celestine IV., in the same year, 1241. Innocent IV. (1241—1254) now occupied the Papal Chair. To Innocent, whose residence was then at Lyons, whither he had been driven from Italy by the impiety and treachery of Frederïc II., the German Emperor, Grosseteste with his friend, Adam de Marisco, set out at the age of seventy—at which time, by-the-bye, we have been told[1] by Canon Perry, that he had "ceased to look upon the Pope as the representative of God," and had even come to regard him "as the very minister of Satan;" and by Dr. Creighton,[2] that he was driven, in spite of himself, into antagonism to the Papal system.

Almost immediately upon his arrival (January 15, 1245), Boniface of Savoy was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in succession to St. Edmund, who had died in 1240, the see having remained vacant for five years; and Roger de Weseham, Dean of Lincoln, was consecrated[3] Bishop of Lichfield. And here Luard[4] and Dr. Creighton find it difficult not to suspect unfair dealings between Grosseteste and Roger de Weseham. The triumph of the Bishop was complete as far as the right of visitation was concerned. But does it not look as if Grosseteste obtained the

[1] *Life and Times of Grosseteste.* By Canon Perry, p. 292.
[2] See above, pp. 2, 3.
[3] *Rege penitus inconsulto,* is the expression of the ancient chronicle.
[4] *Ibid.* p. lxii.

episcopate for Roger on the understanding that the latter would withdraw his claim and that of his Chapter from any further contention? There does not, however, seem sufficient reason for this unfavourable suspicion of Luard. The exact circumstances whereby the Bishop gained his cause cannot be ascertained. What we do know is that the honesty and straightforwardness of Grosseteste is the prominent feature of his character, and that it is only fair to suppose that he was true to himself all through the transaction.

We must not omit to notice, in the course of these hostilities between Bishop and Chapter, a striking piece of evidence as to the intimate knowledge of Holy Scripture, in an age, be it remembered, one hundred and forty years before the production of the so-called[1] Wickliffe's Bible. We cannot do better than quote Luard. Of the letter[2] of Grosseteste to his Chapter, Luard writes:[3]

> It is a very singular specimen of the mode of thought of the time. If the arguments seem weak and fanciful to us now, we must remember that not only are they such as appeared weighty to Grosseteste, but also such as he expected would influence his Chapter; and thus they give a curious insight into the mediæval mind, and the thorough familiarity with the Old Testament is perhaps only what we might expect; but the use of all the characters of Scripture and the forced, sometimes outrageous way, in which they are used to illustrate his argument, show how thoroughly biblical the age was.[4]

[1] See article in *Dublin Review*, July, 1894, on the Pre-Reformation English Bible, by Dom Aidan Gasquet, O.S.B.

[2] *Ibid.* n. cxxvii. [3] *Ibid.* Preface, p. xlvii.

[4] The italics are ours.

We will now proceed as briefly as may be with our history; and, for convenience' sake, we will consider the relations of Grosseteste first with the King and then with the Holy See; by which time we shall be able to determine on the whole what is the true estimate to be formed of our good Bishop as a champion of the rights of Holy Church against State encroachment, and as a loyal son and servant of the Vicar of Christ.

In 1241, the prebend of Thame in Lincoln Cathedral becoming vacant, Grosseteste conferred it upon Simon de London, the penitentiary of the Bishop of Durham. The King, meanwhile, had given the presentation to John Mansel, one of his clerks. Henry was relying on a Papal provision which had been granted to him, but it seems[1] that, on a former occasion, in a dispute of this nature, Grosseteste had obtained a privilege from the Holy See whereby he was empowered to disregard any subsequent Papal provision which did not contain a special clause derogating from his privilege. As there was no such special reference in the Papal provision pleaded by the King, Grosseteste at once threatened Mansel with excommunication. Mansel being, as it seems, a man of peace, resigned his benefice; and the Bishop overweary of royal interference, seriously contemplated his own resignation and exile. The King, however, gave way, and the affair was compromised.

In 1242, Henry imposed severe exactions upon the country in order to prosecute his foolish war with France, then under St. Louis IX. Grosseteste vehemently exhorted his Chapter to make a common

[1] Matthew Paris, vol. i. p. 374. Bohn's Edition.

stand with himself against the King, who is probably referred to in the purposely ambiguous language of his letter.

In 1243 occurred the famous contest between the Bishop and the Chapter of Canterbury. Truly if the life of man is one of storm, that of Grosseteste was one of hurricane. The said Chapter during the long vacancy of five years claimed metropolitical power, and undertook to receive appeals from the provinces. The validity of their claim is discussed in Note B.

A clerk, whose name does not appear, sued the Abbot of Bardney, in Lincolnshire, for the recovery of a debt. The Abbot disputed the debt, upon which the clerk appealed to the Archdeacon, who seconded him in applying to Grosseteste to enforce the claim. The Bishop sent lay visitors to the monastery for this purpose, but the monks shut the door in their faces, and stoutly defied the Bishop's right to interfere. Grosseteste would certainly seem to be within his rights: his prudence and tact do not seem quite so clear. The Abbot, hearing of the claim of the Canterbury Chapter, appealed to them. At this juncture of events the King, recognizing the validity of the sentence of deposition which was now pronounced by Grosseteste, proceeded to seize the temporalities of the vacant abbacy, upon which the Bishop turned round upon the King and threatened him with the fate of Ozah, who perished for touching the ark.[1] The Canterbury monks then proceeded solemnly to excommunicate the Bishop with bell, book, and candle. This only intensified the quarrel, the censure

[1] 2 Kings vi. 7.

being received by Grosseteste with contempt. Eventually appeal was made to Innocent IV., who had just been elevated to the Papacy, and Innocent directed the monks to withdraw their excommunication, and sought a peaceable adjustment of the conflicting claims. Grosseteste, however, complained of the action of the Pope in directing the Canterbury monks to annul their sentence. It seemed to him as if the Pope thereby more or less gave colour to their preposterous claim. But Innocent's object was clearly to shelve an examination which would have required long delays, and settle matters by an exercise of his own unquestioned superior authority. The letter of Grosseteste to Cardinal Otho on this occasion is noteworthy.[1] He calls the episcopal dignity the greatest upon earth. The Pope himself, he says, is not more than a Bishop, although within the sphere of the episcopate he holds the very summit and the plenitude of power, from which plenitude the other Bishops receive what they possess. Here is proof positive that up to the age of sixty-eight Grosseteste is as orthodox in his faith and allegiance to the Holy See as can possibly be.

In 1244 a serious disturbance between the scholars and the Jews arose at Oxford.[2] Wood's quaint remark —*nescio an de usuris*—probably indicates the cause. Grosseteste took the scholars' part, though the precise mode of the settlement of the affair is uncertain. What is certain is that the Bishop, in what he

[1] No. cx. "Dignitas episcopalis est maxima qua Christus homo usus est in terris: qua nec majorem gestat apex papalis licet in hac locum obtineat *summi verticis* et plenitudinem potestatis: de qua plenitudine ceteri quod habent, recipiunt."

[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. p. 233.

did, laid the foundation of the jurisdiction of the University. For we find that shortly afterwards the King issued a privilege to the Chancellor and University, recognizing and ordaining that for the future,

> all clerical causes respecting loans given or received, or the taxation and letting of houses, or matters regarding food and clothing or any contract whatever of movable goods in the municipality or suburbs of Oxford should be decided in the Court of the Chancellor of the University, and the King's prohibition was not to be in force.

The year 1244 was one of perpetual friction between Grosseteste and the King. The interference of the latter with the filling up of the vacant sees of Winchester and Chichester, successfully resisted by the Bishop, and the royal demand for subsidy likewise refused by the Bishop's influence, may be found related in Luard's Preface.[1] It is impossible within our prescribed limits to enter into details of these transactions.

The next dispute, however, between Grosseteste and the King deserves particular attention. In 1246 the financial condition of the see of Canterbury was in a deplorable state: a great part of its debts arising out of the expenses attending the Translation of the relics of St. Thomas in 1220. Boniface, the Archbishop, appealed to the Pope in his distress, and was authorized to appropriate the revenues of the first year of all the benefices falling vacant during the next seven years in the city, diocese, and province of Canterbury, until the sum of ten thousand marks should have been collected. Boniface thereupon applied to Grosseteste for his help in procuring the

[1] *Ibid.* pp. lviii. seq.

money, a matter of great difficulty, for the demand was highly resented by the King and his subjects. Grosseteste at first refused to help the Archbishop. In epistle lxxxix.,[1] in terms of the utmost respect and good-will, he begs to be excused from interference in the matter. He says that he would thereby offend his fellow-suffragans by acting independently of them, and make himself odious to his clergy, already overtaxed by Papal and royal exactions. However, shortly afterwards, perhaps in consequence of the King's strenuous opposition, we find Grosseteste acceding to the request of Boniface, upon which Henry was forced once more to give way through fear of the sturdy Bishop.

Almost at the same time Pope Innocent himself was compelled to demand a subsidy. Upon this particular point we defer for the present any commentary. Later on will be seen an apology for the Holy See in this and similar appeals to the English purse. Once more the King was enraged beyond measure, and wrote to each Bishop peremptory orders forbidding them to levy the "tallage,"[2] as it was called. The reply of Grosseteste to the King is memorable, and gives us proof positive, that at any rate six years before his death his loyalty to the Holy See is unimpaired. The great change in the Popery of the Bishop, as alleged by Canon Perry, is yet to be. We quote from the Bishop's letter:[3]

The Bishops are bound to collect the tallage [he writes], for they as well as I myself are compelled by the authority

[1] Luard, p. 276.
[2] Derived from an obsolete French word, *taillage* or tax.
[3] Letter cxix. Luard, p. 341.

and precepts of the Sovereign Pontiff, whom not to obey "is the sin of witchcraft," in whose wish not to acquiesce is like the "crime of idolatry."[1] . . . For we see our spiritual father and mother,[2] to whom we are bound incomparably more than to our parents in the flesh—by way of honour, obedience, and reverence and every kind of relief in their necessities—relegated to exile, persecuted, despoiled, and deprived of wherewith to be sustained according to their state.

He goes on to threaten the King with the evils that are sure to fall upon the kingdom, unless they succour the "spiritual father of all upon earth." Once more the King is foiled and Holy Church triumphs under the leadership of "Lincolniensis."

In 1248 we find Grosseteste present in the Parliament convened in London for the real, though not expressed, purpose of obtaining supplies for the King's impoverished condition.

The Parliament refused to comply with the King's demand for the present. It would seem that for three or four years the royal subsidies remained in abeyance. In October, 1252, the King produced a Papal mandate, authorizing him to receive for three years an entire tenth of the revenues of the Church in England to provide for the necessities of the royal pilgrimage to the Holy Land under the banner of the Cross. According to Matthew Paris, and, as far as can be seen, to no other author, Grosseteste protested against this demand of Pope and King, even whilst some of the prelates were inclined to give way. The ground of Grosseteste's objection was that the exaction was excessive, and would

[1] 1 Kings xv. 23.

[2] By these words, which occur frequently in the Bishop's letters, he means the Pope and the Roman Church.

become a dangerous precedent. Whilst refusing to give credence to the exaggerated account of Paris, it is probably true that the Bishops, with Grosseteste as their guiding spirit, at first refused compliance. We see no reason why they should not have done so, nor what point is gained by our opponents in such an admission. Eventually, however, the Bishops met in council and offered to come to terms with the King. They proposed to concede the grant of money on condition that he would keep inviolate Magna Charta. Besides which he was to grant a charter undertaking that this exaction should not be used as a precedent, and that the money should be applied *bona fide* to the exact purpose for which it was demanded. The King swore that he would not submit to such slavery, whereupon the Council and Parliament broke up with the matter unsettled.

In May of the next year, 1253, another Parliament was held in which, at the instance chiefly of Grosseteste, the King was forced to submit to the terms offered him ; and once more the royal arbitrariness was kept at bay. And what does the weary recurrence of friction between mitre and crown prove? What would have been the history of the English people all along the line of Norman, Angevin, and Plantagenet Kings—sad enough as it is—without the benign and effective power of Holy Church to roll back the ever-recurring tide of arbitrary and despotic kinghood? What was it that made the tyrant Tudor possible, but the gradual withdrawal, by the Black Death, Lollard fanaticism, and civil wars, of the restraining power of the Catholic Church? The yoke of Jesus Christ was cast off, and exchanged for the

yoke of Cæsar. When will mankind learn the lesson that a yoke of some kind they cannot escape? It must be either that of Christ "which is sweet,"[1] or else that of Cæsar: unless indeed it be that of Demos, more terrible still.

We have no space here to narrate in detail the different acts of Grosseteste in the administration of his diocese. It will be sufficient to state that he was chiefly occupied in making visitations[2] with his characteristic thoroughness and severity: that in consequence he was in perpetual conflict with Chapter and beneficed clergyman, with abbot and prior, with monk and nun. Indeed, so frequent were the complaints about the conduct of "the terrible" Bishop, that Luard[3] is obliged to remark several times in his Preface that he cannot acquit him of hastiness, intemperate zeal, and lack of judgment in many of his transactions; whilst Matthew Paris, in support of the rights of monasteries, occasionally pours forth the vials of his wrath upon him.

It only remains for us to give an account of the dealings of our good Bishop with the Holy See. We have reserved this part of our history to the conclusion of our tract, because it is of supreme importance, as determining mainly the estimate we shall have finally to make of the character and orthodoxy of Robert Grosseteste. We shall confine our attention almost entirely to the letters of the Bishop

[1] St. Matt. xi. 30.

[2] *E.g.*, of Godstow, where the Abbess is deposed *propter culpas suas*: of Dunstable and Caudwell, where the Priors were likewise degraded: of Oxford, Lichfield, and Coventry, &c. (Luard, Preface, pp. lxix. seq.) At Ramsey he inspected the dormitories, "forcing open anything that was shut." (*Ibid.* p. lxxv.)

[3] *E.g.*, pp. lxxi. lxxv. See also p. xlviii.

as the incontestable sources of evidence; whilst, for reasons already stated, we discard in great measure the biassed and indeed fabulous narrative of Matthew Paris.

First, let us see from the said letters what was the faith of Grosseteste from the beginning *to the end of his life* as regards the See of Rome.

The first reference made to that See is in a letter[1] written to William de Raleigh, treasurer of Exeter in the year 1236: *i.e.*, in the sixty-second year of his age, and the first of his episcopate.

The princes of this world [writes the Bishop] ought to know that either sword,[2] the temporal as well as the spiritual, is the sword of Peter. But it is the Heads of the Church, who occupy the place and office of Peter, who of themselves use the spiritual sword; it is the same Heads of the Church who use the material sword by the hand and ministry of secular princes; who ought to unsheath or sheath it according to the design and disposition of ecclesiastical chiefs.

In epistle xxix. of the same year Grosseteste writes to King Henry to say that the Pope has taken under his protection the Crusaders, and has commanded the Archbishops and Bishops likewise to befriend them; and threatens with punishment those

[1] No. xxiii. Luard, p. 76.

[2] The Bishop here uses the famous similitude of the two swords, as St. Anselm did before him (*Comm. in Matth.* c. xxvi.), and as Boniface VIII. did in the Bull *Unam Sanctam* (1302), which has given such widespread offence. The first sword is the spiritual power, the second sword is the material power, to be drawn in support of the spiritual power. The spiritual sword is drawn by the Church, the civil sword *directly* by the State, but *indirectly* by the Church, when she calls upon the State to draw it in her interests, as she has the right to do. For the temporal authority, though perfectly distinct from it, yet must be subject to the spiritual authority; because the spiritual order is of its very nature superior to the temporal, as the soul is to the body. If it could be shown that the Pope anywhere asserted as his prerogative, direct power over the

prelates who disobey the Papal command. Therefore, to avoid the charge of negligence and disobedience, he begs the King to release from prison Richard Syward, the Crusader. To this letter the same date may be assigned.

In letter xxxv.,[1] written to Pope Gregory IX. (date uncertain) we find expressions of extraordinary devotion.

> Although [he writes] from the general debt of subjection, by which not only the entire Christian people but the whole human race is bound, and without the payment of which no one can gain salvation, I also am a debtor to your most holy paternity: yet the special prerogative of your virtues and the singular refulgence of them stimulates me intensely and strongly urges me to show forth the plenitude of obedience, of reverence, honour, and fear, &c.

At the end of the letter he asks for some bodily task by which he may prove his devotion.

Epistle xlix.[2] is of special value for our history, for it shows how Grosseteste thought it proper to act when a Papal legate proposed to supersede his episcopal rights. Otho, the Cardinal Legate, had appointed his own clerk, Atto, to the prebend at Lincoln, which had been previously held by Warminster. Grosseteste not unnaturally found this appointment most objectionable—first, because he had himself filled up the vacancy before Otho's letters reached him; secondly, because of the interference with his rights as patron of the benefice.

temporal order, then offence might justly be taken. But nowhere has the Pope done this. It should be remembered that the claim of Boniface had its origin in the public law then in force. See Hergenröther's *Church and State*, vol. ii. p. 120. English Translation.

[1] Luard, p. 123. [2] *Ibid.* p. 144.

But, in writing back, he has no thought of resisting, and even acknowledges expressly that "the Pope and the Holy Roman Church have power freely to dispose of all ecclesiastical benefices." What he claims is only the right to protest against a use of this supreme power, which he says "tends to the destruction rather than to the edification of the Church." And he finishes by "asking suppliantly, and prostrate at the feet of your Holiness, that in your kindness you will revoke the appointment to this prebend."

In letter lviii., addressed to Gregory IX. (1238), we find the same loyalty to the Holy See, with an earnest request that the Pope will not suffer the light of the Franciscan Order to be extinguished. Another letter, No. lviii., to the same Pope, is in a similar strain. (1238.)

Letter cxxvii. is one of great importance. It is in reality a pamphlet, written in 1239, to his Chapter at the beginning of the quarrel which, as we have seen, lasted so long a time. We have already called attention to its intensely Scriptural character. Moses, he writes, was advised by Jethro to appoint assistants in his work, but he did not thereby give up or diminish his power, but reserved to himself the more important cases.[1] The same is true of prelates: and prelates only can deal with the whole diocese or Chapter if they go wrong. Further, as the prelates are to their Chapter and diocese, so is the Pope to the prelates. As is each Bishop to his diocese, so is the Pope to the whole Church. Special exemptions may be given by the Pope to rural deans, abbots, chapters, &c., but

[1] Exodus xviii. 13, seq.; Numbers xi. 1, seq.

where an exemption has not been given, as is the case with the Lincoln Chapter, then that Chapter must be subject to the Bishop's visitation: and the Bishop cannot diminish his own powers, neither can the Pope his own. This is shown in various passages of Scripture,[1] in which the Bishop's duty to his flock is laid down, and threats are quoted to neglect on their part. Now this duty cannot be done without visitation. The parish priests are *visores*, *i.e.*, continually resident, and eye-witnesses of their flock. The Bishops alone are *visitatores*, or itinerant and special shepherds of the flock. The Dean is always resident, and therefore is only a *visor* not *visitator*. The *visores*, or pastors, are stimulated to zeal by the fact of their being visited by the Bishops. So St. Bernard writes,[2] and many other examples of Holy Scripture prove.[3] It is impossible within our limits to analyze the entire letter. Enough is here set forth to supply complete evidence of the exalted ideas of Papal prerogative and his own duty of reverence and obedience, which pervaded the mind of Grosseteste up to his sixty-fifth year.

In letters lxxvii. to Pope Gregory, lxxx. to S. de Arden, his proctor at the Roman court, and lxxxi. again to the Pope (all of 1239), which were written during the progress of his contention with his Chapter, there are to be found fervid protestations of his utter dependence on the Pope, "whose health,"

[1] Ecclus. xxxiii. 19—24; Exodus xxix. 44; Jerem. xi. 1—4; St. John x. 12; Jerem. xxiii. 1, 2; Jerem. xxiii. 2; Ezech. xxxiv. 4, 16, and 11, 12, 15, 17; Isaias x. 15, &c.

[2] St. Bernard, *De Officio Episcoporum*, 35, opp. i. col. 1127.

[3] *E.g.*, The parable of the Prodigal Son: David, Samuel, Adam and Eve, Abel, Abraham, &c.

he thus concludes, "may the most High preserve for me and the Church for a long time."[1]

We have now arrived at the year 1243 and the Pontificate of Innocent IV. (1241—54.) To him in letter cxi., Grosseteste writes fervent congratulations and requests for help in his sufferings with his Chapter. We must bear this letter in mind because we shall presently have occasion to compare it with the famous letter cxxviii. for the purpose of showing the difference of style between a letter of the Bishop to the Pope, and one to his notary.

Letter cxvii., to Innocent IV., written in 1245, is of special importance. This year, be it remembered, is the tenth of Grosseteste's episcopate, and the eighth before his death. We give the literal translation of the greater part of this notable document. The inscription is as follows:

To our most holy Father and Lord in Christ, Innocent, by the grace of God Supreme Pontiff, his own devoted Robert, by the Divine pity the humble minister of the Church of Lincoln, with most devout kisses of his blessed feet.

After my return to England, I met our Lord the King returning from the districts of Wales: and in a private conversation with him, whilst, among other things, I said, as well as I could, certain persuasive words about obedience, fidelity, and devotion to your Holiness and the Holy Roman Church—to be shown and observed and firmly and constantly maintained, especially now, when some people are trying, but by the help of God in vain, to attempt some disturbance of the prevailing tranquillity—the King replied to me thus: "My Lord Bishop, those things which belong to the crown and our royalty we intend, as indeed we ought, to preserve inviolate:[2] and we desire that our lord the Pope and the Church may help us so to do: and take

[1] Luard, p. 261. [2] See above, note, p. 27.

it for certain, that, altogether and at all times, we will show and observe obedience, fidelity, and devotion to our lord the Pope, as our spiritual father, and to the holy Roman Church, as our mother. . . ."

This reply of my lord the King I have thought fit to send to your Holiness, that it may plainly appear to you, what devotion the said lord bears towards you and the Roman Church. May the most High (Lord) of the Church maintain your health for many a day.

There can be no question then, that at this period, which it is to be remembered is the seventieth year of the Bishop's life, his devotion to the Chair of Peter leaves nothing to be desired.

In the following year, 1246, we have still more striking evidence of the same devotion. In letter cxix., Grosseteste writes to the King, to justify his action in the matter of the tallage imposed by the Pope upon the clergy. Henry is astonished that Grosseteste himself proposes to collect the tallage. Grosseteste replies thus:

Be it known to you that we do nothing in this matter of ourselves, *i.e.*, by our own authority, nor independently; for our venerable brethren in the episcopacy are doing the same thing; according to the form given to them by Master Martin, the nuncio of our lord the Pope: and both they and I are compelled by the authority of the supreme Pontiff, whom not to obey is like the sin of witchcraft and like the crime of idolatry.[2] It is therefore not to be wondered at that we, the bishops, are acting thus in the matter. But it would be most worthy of the utmost astonishment and indignation if we refused to do so much or even more. For we see our spiritual father and mother to whom we are bound incomparably more than to our parents according to the flesh, to render honour, obedience, reverence, and help of all kinds

[1] Luard, p. 340. [2] 1 Kings xv. 23.

in their necessities, relegated to exile, distressed by persecutions and troubles from every quarter, despoiled of their patrimony, and without means of their own whereby to obtain proper sustenance. If then, to these our spiritual parents in such circumstances we do not give help, it is certain that we transgress the commandments of God concerning the honour due to parents, nor shall we be long-lived in the land.[1]

With reference to the action of Grosseteste in this matter, Dom Wallace writes:[2]

> Men like St. Edmund and Bishop Grosseteste, unworldly men, with singleness of view, having at heart only the glory of God and salvation of souls, were prepared to make any sacrifice on behalf of the common father of Christendom, in the straits to which he was reduced.[3] . . . St. Edmund himself cheerfully paid whatever demands were made upon him by the Holy See without murmur or remonstrance.

We now come to the famous letter cxxviii.,[4] which alone, as Luard remarks, has kept the memory of Grosseteste green in the English mind and memory. It is represented by Luard and almost all authors as written to Innocent IV. We shall see shortly that it was not so. The circumstances which led to its composition were as follows.

Innocent IV., in a letter dated Perugia, January 26, 1253 (nine months before the death of Grosseteste), ordered the Bishop to induct the Pope's nephew, Frederick of Lavagna, into a canonry at Lincoln, by provision, any exemption or privilege of the Church of Lincoln notwithstanding. Grosseteste peremptorily refused, and wrote the famous letter under considera-

[1] Exodus xx. 12.
[2] *St. Edmund of Canterbury*, p. 313.
[3] What those straits were, see *ibid.* p. 314.
[4] Luard, *Letters of Grosseteste*, p. 432; and *Burton Annals*, p. 311.

tion, which by its outspoken defiance of the Holy See plainly shows, according to Canon Perry, that the mind of the Bishop was radically altered in its allegiance to Rome.

We will give at considerable length the contents of this letter. First, let us notice its title. This, as it stands in the pages of Luard, is not easy to translate.[1] It is as follows: "*Robertus Lincolniensis episcopus magistro Innocentio domino Papæ salutem et benedictionem*—Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, to Master Innocent, the Lord Pope, health and benediction." In a note[2] Luard writes: This letter is usually preceded by another commencing:

> Robert by the permission of God, bishop of Lincoln to the Archdeacon of Canterbury and master Innocent the Notary of our Lord the Pope health and benediction.

If we turn to the *Burton Annals*[3] we find that this is also the true title of the letter we are considering. How then are we to account for the untranslateable Latin title which is given above, and is always prefixed to this letter? How, indeed, except that the force and sting of this letter would be greatly impaired, if it appeared as it really is, to be not a letter to the Pope at all, but to Innocent, the Pope's Notary! We cannot but think that Luard has failed in his usual impartiality here. Dr. Creighton too, notwithstanding his great reputation, falls into the same mistake. It is indeed difficult to acquit these writers entirely of

[1] For we cannot suppose that Grosseteste addressed Innocent IV. as Master Innocent.

[2] Luard, p. 432.

[3] Rolls Series, p. 311.

want of proper care. For if we refer to the *Burton Annals* we read :[1]

> In the same year (*i.e.* 1253) there having been given certain provisors by the Apostolic authority, *viz.*, the Archdeacon of Canterbury (Hugo De mortuo Mari) and a certain Roman, *by name Innocent*, to provide for a certain Roman youth the first vacant prebend in the cathedral Church of Lincoln : Robert, our lord and master, bishop of the same place, on the receipt of letters executory in this same business from the said (provisors), wrote *to them* in these words.

Then follows the letter cxxviii. with the introduction given in English on the preceding page of this tract, with the addition of the following :

> We have understood that you have received letters from our lord the Pope to this effect : "Innocent, Bishop, &c., to our beloved sons in Christ, the Archdeacon of Canterbury and master Innocent our secretary, dwelling for the present in England, health," &c.

The letter then proceeds as we have it in Luard's Epistles of Grosseteste. The Burton Annals go on to tell us that the Archdeacon and Innocent sent at once the Bishop's letter to Innocent IV. It was not unnatural that they should do this, but there is not a word in the letter directing them to do it. With these facts before us, why do Mr. Luard, Dr. Creighton, and all non-Catholic authors, style this a letter of Grosseteste to the Pope? One would have thought that a scholar of very moderate pretensions would have been aware of the fact, that no suffragan Bishop would dream of sending "health and benediction" to the Sovereign Pontiff, nor even to his Metropolitan or brother suffragans. The reader's attention has

[1] P. 311, Luard's Edit. Rolls Series.

already been drawn to the language of Grosseteste when really addressed to the Pope. See letters cxi. and cxvii.[1]

This fact, that letter cxxviii. is written to the Papal notary and not to the Pope, nor meant, so far as we can see, for the eye of the Pope, removes much of the sting of the Protestant indictment. Father Rickaby, S.J., in *The Month* of August, 1881, pertinently remarks, that a Bishop writing to a notary might well enough pen words that he would not dream of sending to the Pope.

And now, when we come to examine the contents of the letter, we shall be surprised to find that instead of curses it contains blessings. We venture to remark that nowhere does Grosseteste show livelier faith and allegiance to the Holy See.

> You know [he writes] that I obey the Apostolic commands with filial affection and all devotion and reverence; and those things which are adverse to Apostolic commands, being zealous for the parental honour [of the Holy See], I oppose or withstand; being bound to obedience or opposition equally by Divine command. For Apostolic commands are not, nor can be, anything else but consonant to the doctrine of the Apostles and of Jesus Christ our Lord Himself, the Master and Lord of Apostles, whose type and person our Lord the Pope in the highest degree represents in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For our Lord Jesus Christ Himself says: "He that is not with Me is against Me;" but against Him the most Divine sanctity of the Apostolic See neither is nor can be. The tenor of the above-mentioned letter is not consistent with Apostolic sanctity, but quite the reverse.[2] In the first place, in the letter, and

[1] See above, p. 31.

[2] Luard justly observes that the style of this letter is scarcely equal to its fame. It is almost impossible to give the exact English equivalent of its more turgid and intemperate passages.

in others like it spread widely abroad, the "notwithstandings" (*non obstante*) which are heaped up in such vast quantity, being not drawn from any necessity in observing the law of nature, produce a wide deluge of fickleness, audacity, and shameless insolence of lying and deceiving, a distrust in believing or giving faith to anybody, and all the vices which follow from those things which are innumerable, disturbing and confusing the purity of religion and the social intercourse of men. Moreover, after the sin of Lucifer, the same with that of Antichrist, the Son of Perdition in the latter times, whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of His mouth (2 Thess. ii. 8), there neither is, nor can be, any sort of sin so adverse and contrary to Apostolic and Evangelical teaching, so odious and detestable to our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, so abominable and destructive to the human race as to kill and destroy, by robbing them of the pastoral office and ministry, those souls which are to be vivified and saved by the office and ministry of the pastoral care. . . .

He goes on to say that the sin of those who send such unworthy ecclesiastics is greater than that of those who are sent, referring of course to the Sovereign Pontiff, and concludes as follows:

No one who is subject to the Apostolic See, and faithful in immaculate and sincere obedience, and not cut off from the Body of Christ and the same Holy See by schism, can obey commands, or precepts, or attempts of any description of such a character as this, from whatever quarter they come, even if it should be from the highest order of angels, but must of necessity contradict and rebel against them with all his strength. Therefore, reverend sirs, out of the debt of obedience and fidelity by which I am bound to the Most Holy Apostolic See, as to both my parents and by the love of union with it in the Body of Christ, these things which are contained in the said letter, because they most evidently tend to the sin which I have mentioned, are most abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and most pernicious to the human race, and are altogether opposed to the holiness of

the Apostolic See, and are contrary to Catholic unity, I filially and obediently disobey, contradict, and rebel against. Nor can your wisdom institute harsh measures against me, because every word and action of mine in the matter is neither contradiction nor rebellion: but filial honour due by Divine command to my (spiritual) father and mother.[1]

Such are the salient points of this letter, upon which non-Catholics are wont almost entirely to rely in their endeavour to prove the Protestantism of Grosseteste.

It is usually stated, though solely on the authority of Matthew Paris, that Innocent IV. was furious on the receipt of this letter from the notary, burst out into intemperate language, and was only prevented by the Cardinals from at once placing Grosseteste under excommunication. Other writers affirm that he actually did so. But Luard says that he can find no authority for the fact;[2] and we need not trouble ourselves about the highly-coloured story of Matthew Paris. Doubtless the Pope was displeased; but he knew very well his man, and loved and respected him, and actually ordered the vehement protests of the Bishop to be read aloud in a consistory of Cardinals.[3]

Neither need we be concerned with the ordinary account of the Bishop's death, in which he is made

[1] *Sed filialis divino mandato debita patri et matri honoratio;* which Canon Perry translates thus: "But the filial honour due to the Divine commandment as to (?) my parents." This is feebleness itself. It will be observed that Grosseteste throughout his letters is perpetually writing about his "spiritual father and mother," meaning thereby the Pope and the Roman Church.

[2] Preface to Epistles of Grosseteste, p. lxxxi. in note, where he gives his reason for discrediting the excommunication.

[3] Lingard, vol. ii. p. 248, note.

to pour forth violent complaints and accusations against the Holy See. Canon Perry has wrought this episode of Grosseteste's career into high relief. An illustration is given of the death-bed, and five or six pages are devoted to the last words of the dying prelate. He is made by the Canon to define the sin of heresy, and to convict the Pope of that sin, and to condemn him to everlasting flames.

> The avarice, simony, usury, and cheating, the lustfulness, gluttony, vanity, and worldliness which reigned in the Papal Court were present in sad array to the thoughts of the Bishop. At last, worn out with his vehement protests, the voice and breath together ceased, the eloquent tongue was still, the zealous and earnest heart ceased to beat, and the great Bishop went to receive his reward.[1]

Let us hope that there were not wanting other thoughts to the dying man, such as those of contrition, and faith, and hope, wherewith to meet his particular judgment. However, as the Canon has taken every word from Matthew Paris, and from him alone, we need not trouble ourselves to make further comment upon them. So, also, as regards the famous ghost story, according to which Robert of Lincoln appeared to Innocent IV., when that Pontiff was thinking of casting the bones of the Bishop outside the church; and in which we are told that the ghost pummelled poor Innocent with the butt-end of his pastoral staff. Here, again, Paris is responsible for the story.[2] To all of this, and such as this, enlightened scholarship will give but sparse credence.

One epistle alone remains to be noticed, viz., that

[1] Perry, pp. 284—290.

[2] For further amusing embellishments see Dr. Milman's *Latin Christianity*, bk. x. ch. 5.

which is numbered cxxxi. in Luard's edition. In this document, the Bishop is represented as calling upon the nobles of England, the citizens of London, and the whole community "to resist with arms, the various oppressions, provisions, impositions of the Apostolic See."

Before dealing with the attitude towards the Holy See adopted by the writer of this letter, one would like to have some evidence that Grosseteste himself was the writer. This document is not found along with the other letters of Grosseteste, but comes to us from a wholly disconnected source. It is to be found in a bundle of other ancient letters in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. We have fortunately been able to secure the services of a friend who has recently examined the document. He reports that it occupies but one sheet of paper, is thrown casually among other miscellaneous writings, is not in the form of a letter at all, and has a title which is quite unique. Every letter of Grosseteste (that has been published, at any rate) has the prefix of "Robert, by the grace of God Bishop of Lincoln," or of words to that effect; this letter alone is without it. It is styled *Lincolniensis proceribus Angliæ.* Till further research, if any is possible, has established the authorship of Grosseteste, we need not concern ourselves with any serious apology for it. At the most it is of a piece with other letters of the same kind, which do not affect Papal prerogative, but merely certain acts of Papal administration. Besides which, being written, according to Luard, in 1252, it is not the last expression of the mind and attitude of Grosseteste towards the Holy See.

What then is our final conclusion upon the various controversial points which have arisen in our short history of Robert Grosseteste?

I. As to foreign holders of benefices. Whence the universal condemnation of these, but either from ignorance or bigotry? In this indictment we include even Luard, notwithstanding his manifest and honourable attempts to avoid partiality and passion. For instance, on page xlviii. of his Preface, he writes thus:

> The same year, 1240, is remarkable for the audacious attempt of the Pope to attach the Roman citizens to himself by giving them English benefices.

He then quotes Matthew Paris, who declares the number of such foreigners to be three hundred. If this be true, and here again Paris is our sole informant, we do not find any author whom we have consulted attempt to judge the matter from the Pope's point of view. Nor do we find any mention of a Bull of Innocent IV. in which he speaks of his great reluctance to impose such burdens on the people of England, but pleads his own distress as compelling him so to do.[1] We maintain that, in these days of enlightened historical research, we have a right to complain of such one-sided presentment of facts. The truth is, the Popes were not free in such matters. It must never be forgotten that the Pope is Supreme Head upon earth of the Catholic Church, that is to say, the Church gathered into one unity out of all nations. In this capacity he has the right, and sometimes the duty, to require one part of his flock

[1] Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 700; Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 471.

to bear the burdens of another. Now, at this period, the hostility of the German Emperor, the feuds of Guelph and Ghibelline, the consequent relaxation of morals and discipline, the impoverishment of Church endowments, the decrease in the offerings of the faithful—all these things had thrown upon the Pope's hands a multitude of starving ecclesiastics. Innocent IV. himself was an exile for ten years at Lyons, without any resources but contributions from the clergy. What then was he to do? Is it wonderful that he should have cast his eyes upon England, already a wealthy nation,[1] and called upon it to help him in his distress? If, beyond merely appealing, he also by his authority demanded, or even exacted relief, and used his supreme jurisdiction in the disposition of benefices, was he not acting within his rights? As regards subsidies demanded from the nation at large, as distinguished from the clergy, it must be remembered that, whether we approve of it or not, England had been made over as a fief to the Holy See, *by the express will of the barons*, as well as of the clergy and King John.

No one can justly blame the Pope for holding the English nation to their compact. Doubtless abuses arose both in the amount of the subsidies demanded, their mode of collection, and oftentimes in the number[2] and fitness of foreign ecclesiastics for tenure of English benefices. But abuses will arise, and cannot be avoided; and wherever Grosseteste

[1] That he was ignorant of the true financial condition of England is clear from the Burton Annals. (Rolls Series, second edition, p. 280.)

[2] For the statement that the incomes of foreigners in 1252 amounted to 70,000 marks, upon which so much stress is laid by Protestant authors, Matthew Paris alone is responsible.

opposed a genuine abuse, he was perfectly right in what he did, as we should be to-day in similar circumstances.

> The Papacy [it has been well said] would not be the most tremendous burden upon earth, as indeed it is, if the Pope were divinely preserved from making a mistake in the conduct of his business, or committing a sin by the abuse of his power. Catholics are not bound to uphold every Papal act in history as wise, considerate, or even justifiable.[1]

But what is proved by resistance to an unjust Papal demand? Does it mean the denial of Papal right to make any demand? Does resistance to an unjust taxation involve the denial of the power of the State to impose taxes? or is resistance to unkind treatment on the part of a parent the same thing as the denial of parental authority? This confusion of thought runs through the pages of almost all non-Catholic historians, in particular those of Canon Perry, whose Life of Grosseteste is before us. He is simply throwing dust into the eyes of his Anglican readers. Let him show, if he can, one solitary instance where Grosseteste ever denied the Papal *prerogative* among his not infrequent acts of resistance to Papal *administration.*

II. We do not however justify every act of Grosseteste in his work of reform. The fact is that, as Luard frequently remarks, intense zeal for souls was not always tempered with discretion. His was a rugged and somewhat imperious nature. He was not distinguished for over-refinement, nor would patience be reckoned as his predominant virtue. The

[1] *The Month*, August, 1880.

maxim—"things will right themselves"—is about the very last he would acknowledge; and yet who that is versed in government does not recognize its wisdom in a variety of cases?[1] Contrast Grosseteste with his contemporary, St. Edmund of Canterbury. There was a mediæval saying upon this point: *Dilexit Dominus Edmundum in odorem benignitatis, et dilexit Dominus Robertum in odorem fidelitatis*—"The Lord hath loved Edmund for an odour of sweetness, and Robert for an odour of fidelity." St. Edmund was raised to the altars of the Church, and Grosseteste was not. May it not be that there was wanting to the latter that patient endurance of evils which cannot be remedied, that toleration of wrongs which cannot be redressed; that spirit of, *In Te Domine speravi: non confundar in æternum;* that absolute unconsciousness of being necessary, or, indeed, of any consequence to the welfare of Holy Church; in short, that utter effacement of self which distinguishes the Saint from the holy Bishop?

III. As regards the excommunication of Grosseteste, we have already shown that Luard denies it. But, as Dr. Felten remarks on this point, is it not quite certain that Matthew Paris would be sure to pounce upon the fact, and turn it to his own anti-Papal partisanship, if it had been true? whereas Paris makes no mention whatever of it.[2]

Again, the Primate with two other Bishops, several abbots, and an immense multitude of the faithful,

[1] See this point very well put by Miss Allies: *History of the Church in England*, pp. 231, seq.

[2] Collier (*Church History*, vol. ii. p. 509) refers to the Annals of Lanercost for the excommunication, and seems to connect Matthew Paris with the statement. But Matthew Paris has not a word about it.

assisted at Grosseteste's funeral; and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's in the year 1307, petitioned his canonization.[1] These facts are irreconcilable with his excommunication.

IV. As regards the famous letter cxxviii., we finally remark as follows:

(i.) It is the very last expression of the mind of Grosseteste about the Holy See; being written in the spring of 1253, a few months before his death, which fell on October 9 of that year. Luard, in his article upon Grosseteste in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, affirms that, "this letter expresses the utmost reverence for the Pope and the Roman See." We say rather that something more than mere reverence is manifested by it; that the argument which pervades the letter, is the most absolute demonstration of his consummate faith. He says that this proposed appointment by the Pope of his nephew to the Lincoln canonry is an unrighteous one; therefore it does not come from the Apostolic See, *which cannot, as such, do unrighteous acts.* And considering the irritation of the Bishop as he penned this epistle, we cannot conceive or desire stronger proof of his Papal orthodoxy. To say then with Canon Perry that this letter is an evidence of the Bishop's change of mind and faith in Rome is about as true as that yes is no, or that light is darkness. But once more: *fas est et ab hoste doceri.* Luard in his Preface to the Epistles of Grosseteste writes thus:[2]

> Grosseteste has been styled one of the harbingers of the Reformation. . . . If this implies that he had any tendency towards the doctrinal changes then brought about in the

[1] Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. ii. p. 287. [2] P. xiv.

Church, or that he evidenced any idea of a separation of the Church of England from that of Rome, a more utterly mistaken statement has never been made. . . .

To judge him by the ideas prevalent in the sixteenth century, or to expect to find him influenced by similar motives to those which were influencing men's minds then, is to do him great injustice: and such a view of his character can only arise from ignorance of the actual facts.

(ii.) The absurd blunder, by which Innocent the Notary is confounded with Innocent the Pope, has been pointed out. Therefore this famous Epistle of Grosseteste to Innocent IV. is a myth, and must never do duty again among scholars.

V. Not only by words or letters, but by acts all through his life, did Grosseteste proclaim his Papal allegiance. He made two painful seven-weeks' journeys to the Pope's presence—the second when he was an old man of seventy-five and over. Further, in his differences with the Canterbury monks, with his own Chapter, and with Boniface of Canterbury, that is to say *three times*, he appealed to Rome. He exhorted Henry as we have seen to fidelity to Rome; he championed the Papal subsidy. If this is not to uphold Papal Supremacy, we are at a loss to know what is.

And now, we think, that enough has been written to vindicate the Papal orthodoxy, from beginning to end, of our most holy, and zealous, and unmistakeably Catholic Bishop, Robert Grosseteste.

NOTE A (see p. 15).

The controversy between Grosseteste and his Chapter is plainly a case of conflict between the *jus commune* (or *General Law*) of the Church (of which a remarkable revival took place in the twelfth century) and the old Norman and English "customs" which dated from a period before that revival. By the *jus commune* the Bishop had from earliest times the right to visit his Chapter; by the "customs" spoken of, certain exemptions from such visitation came to be attached to particular Chapters. This was due, it is supposed, to the fact that St. Osmund of Salisbury before his death gave to his Chapter a considerable amount of autonomy with which the Bishop was expected not to interfere. These privileges became extended to the other two great secular Cathedrals of York and Lincoln. By degrees these powers of self-government, extending to the vicars and prebendaries, were looked upon as a body of rights, and were vaguely known as "customs and liberties." Indeed, we are told by Henry Bradshaw in his memorandum to the *Liber Niger* of Lincoln, that the chapters thus constituted had granted to them immunities "by Bishop after Bishop, confirmed too by successive Popes, until by A.D. 1250, even the Bishop's ordinary duty of visitation had come to be looked upon as an intolerable infringement of the right of the Chapter."[1] There do not, however, seem to be any instances of Papal grants explicitly exempting the Chapters from visitation. Grosseteste stood upon the ground of the *jus commune*, and *potestas episcopalis*, which no Bishop could diminish, or renounce, or forfeit by neglect. He declares that the Pope could exempt anybody from visitation: which shows he thought that in this instance the Chapter could not plead such exemption. Grosseteste was evidently

[1] *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, p. 37, by Bradshaw and Wordsworth. Cambridge University Press, 1892.

in the whole transaction reviving his undoubted rights, while the Chapter was pleading the prescriptive force of "customs and liberties."

NOTE B (see p. 20).

Before the Council of Trent, Primates or Archbishops had powers to suspend, inhibit, or excommunicate their suffragans. This was generally regarded as part of their ordinary jurisdiction.

A Chapter, when the see is vacant, succeeds to the ordinary power of episcopal jurisdiction (with certain reservations), and has power to inflict censures and to excommunicate. In this particular case the Chapter of Canterbury, the see being vacant, considered that, inheriting the ordinary jurisdictional power of the late Archbishop, they could like him excommunicate throughout the *province*. Grosseteste contended that, whilst this principle held true with regard to the Archbishop's own diocese, it did not extend to the archiepiscopal powers over his suffragans. He[1] distinguishes between the Archbishop as Bishop of his own see, and the same as Archon, or head of the Bishops. So far as we know, there is not any recorded instance of the recognition of this claim of the Canterbury Chapter by the Holy See, although its action in this very case shows that it treated it as not altogether impossible. Shelving, as has been explained, the controversy just then, the Pope preferred to use his own higher authority and supersede the Chapter's excommunication.

[1] Letter cxxvii., which is well worthy of attentive study.

ST. PETER'S PRIMACY AND THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

By T. W. ALLIES, K.C.S.G.[1]

What do we, as English Christians, owe to the Chair of Peter? *We owe it everything.*

If it is "the root and womb of the Catholic Church" in general, how much more to us in particular!

When Augustine, the monk, came into England with his band of missionaries, did he come of himself or was he *sent?* Who gave him *mission?* Who gave him *spiritual jurisdiction?* Who empowered him to be primate over England, and to create other bishops? A power is wanted for all this. Whence did he get it?

Not from the Kentish king, for he was not yet gathered into the fold of Christ himself; how could he *send?*

And had he been a sheep of the fold, how could he give mission to a shepherd?

[1] [These two chapters form the concluding sections of the author's Treatise on *The See of St. Peter*, published in 1850, shortly after his conversion. It is thought that in this separate form they may be suitable for distribution at the present time; they may also serve to direct attention to the work of which they form a part, and which is now published by the Catholic Truth Society at 1s. 6d.]

Nor, again, was he monarch of England. How could he assign all England for a spiritual province?

Augustine derived his mission from St. Peter's Chair.

Augustine derived his power to create other bishops, and to assign them dioceses, from St. Peter's Chair.

Augustine derived authority over them, when so created, from St. Peter's Chair.

Augustine's successors retained the authority which he had held by commission from St. Peter's Chair.

That English Church arose, parcelling out the island, and irrigating every plot of it with the life-giving water of the Gospel.

The fountain-head was in St. Peter's Chair.

As a living member, it made part of a living body; and as that body was ruled and maintained by a head, so was the member.

The head was St. Peter, living also in his successors.

What part had the civil power in all this?

It *allowed* the spiritual power to act; it added to its actions civil authority and privileges; it confirmed, by the sanction of temporal laws, those assignations of spiritual subjects which the spiritual power had made.

But it never *made* these by and of itself; it never claimed to *send* labourers into the vineyard of the Lord.

It preserved and maintained the civil jurisdiction in these mixed causes when it came into contact with the spiritual; but it never claimed to *originate* this spiritual jurisdiction itself, or to be *supreme judge*, or *judge* at all, in matters of faith.[1]

Augustine, the bishop, had one domain: Ethelbert, the king, had another. He was Augustine's *spiritual child* and *temporal lord*.

[1] See this learnedly proved in the late pamphlet of Archdeacon Manning, *The Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown*, etc.

For more than nine hundred years this relationship continued; and as it is founded in first principles of the Christian faith, the only marvel is that it can be needful to set it forth, as if it were doubted by any.

But at least the whole ancient Church of England was built on it.

Leaving his days of prayer and peace, St. Augustine went forth from that monastery on the Roman hill, visited and loved by how many English pilgrims, for how many hundred years! He was sent, as yet a priest only, with mission from the Prince of the Apostles, that when the shadow of Peter passed over them, the slaves might become sons, and the Angli Angeli.

These were the words of St. Gregory: "To Augustine your ruler, whom we make your Abbot, be in all things humbly obedient, knowing that whatever you fulfil by his admonition will in all things profit your souls. The Almighty God protect you with His grace, and grant me to see the fruit of your labour *in the eternal country*. Since if I cannot labour with you, I may be found with you in the joy of your reward, for I wish to labour with you. God preserve you safe, most beloved sons." [1]

At the command of St. Gregory, Augustine afterwards receives consecration as bishop from Virgilius, the Primate of Arles. And this alone would prove how completely distinct is the question of jurisdiction from that of order. Virgilius had no authority whatever to *send* Augustine into England, but at the command of his spiritual superior he could confer upon him those powers which spring from consecration, for the *exercise* of which St. Gregory alone gave him *mission*. To this Bishop Virgilius St. Gregory had before granted "the pall," that is, authority to represent himself over all the

[1] St. Greg., *Ep.*, vi. 51.

bishops of Gaul. "Because," he says, "it is plain to all *whence* the Holy Faith came forth, in the regions of Gaul, when your Brotherhood asks afresh for the ancient custom of the Apostolic See, what does it, but as a good child, recur to the bosom of its mother?" "And so we grant your Brotherhood to represent ourself in the Churches which are in the kingdom of our most excellent son Childebert, according to ancient custom, which has God for its author." [1]

And so the same power which gave the Bishop of Arles authority over all the bishops of France, committed England and its future bishops to Augustine.

Thus, in another letter, St. Gregory empowers Augustine to constitute two provinces, his own, and that of York, each with its bishops; and he adds to him personally, "Let your Fraternity have all the bishops of Britain subject to you, by authority of our Lord God." [2]

In answer to a question of St. Augustine, he says, in another place: "We give you no authority over the bishops of Gaul; but we commit to your Fraternity the care of all British bishops." [3]

Thus the Anglican hierarchy sprung up under St. Gregory's hand: her primacies were instituted by him and maintained by him. Every successor of St. Augustine received afresh from every successor of Gregory the continuance of the original mission and jurisdiction.

Thus Boniface V. writes to Justus, the fourth Archbishop, A.D. 622: "Moreover we send to your Fraternity the pall, *granting also to you to celebrate the ordination of bishops*, when need requires." [4]

Pope Honorius sends, at the request of King Edwin, palls to the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York,

[1] St. Greg., *Ep.*, lib. v. 53.
[2] *Ep.*, lib. xi. 65.
[3] *Ep.*, lib. xi. 64.
[4] Mansi, tom. x. 550.

with permission that when one dies the survivor should consecrate another. "He may fill up his place with another bishop *by this our authority*, which, as well out of regard to your affection as on account of the great space between us, *we are induced to concede*." [1]

The same Pope writes to the Archbishop Honorius, A.D. 626 :—

"You ask that the authority of your See should be confirmed by the privilege of our authority. Therefore, according to the old custom which your Church has kept from the times of Augustine, your predecessor, of holy memory, by the authority of blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, we grant to you, Honorius, and to your successors for ever, the primacy of all the Churches of Britain. Therefore we have ordered all the Churches and regions of England *to be subjected to your jurisdiction*, and in the City of Canterbury let the Metropolitical place and honour of the Archiepiscopate, and the head of all the Churches of the English people, be kept for the future." [2] And he prays that God would confirm with perpetual stability the archbishop, "following the rule of your *Master* and *Head*, St. Gregory."

So in the year 657 Pope Vitalian writes to our Archbishop Theodore :—

"We learn your desire for the *confirmation* of the diocese subject to you, because in all things you desire to shine by our privilege of apostolical authority. Wherefore we have thought good at present *to commend to your most wise Holiness all the Churches in the island of Britain*. But now, by the authority of blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to whom power was given by our Lord to bind and to loose in heaven and in earth, we, however unworthy, holding the place of that same blessed

[1] Mansi, tom. x. 580. [2] *Ibid.*, x. 580, 583.

Peter, who bears the keys of the kingdom of heaven, grant to you, Theodore, and your successors, all that from old time was allowed, for ever to retain unimpaired, in that your Metropolitical See, in the City of Canterbury."[1]

Yet these powers might be withdrawn or changed by him who gave them; for we find, in the year 795 Kenulph, King of Mercia, writing to solicit Pope Leo III. to restore to Canterbury that part of its province which his predecessor Hadrian, at the request of King Offa, had erected into an Archiepiscopal province for Lichfield. And this prayer is granted by the Pope. At the same time all the bishops of England petition the Pope that the favour of one archbishop consecrating the successor of the other, which had been interrupted by the troubles of the times, might be restored; and that the pall might be granted without going to Rome for it.[2]

At a Council held at Rome in 680, Pope Agatho had ordered that each Archbishop in England, "who for the time is honoured with the pall by this Apostolic See,"[3] may promote and ordain the bishops subject to him. In the same Council, Wilfred is restored to the See of York.

In the year 1072, a contest arose by reason of Thomas, Archbishop of York, denying the Primacy of Canterbury over his See. A Council was held in Winton, by order of Pope Alexander, to terminate this, and Archbishop Lanfranc communicates to the Pope the result, that clear proof of his Primacy over all England had been adduced. "As the greatest strength and foundation of the whole cause," he says, "there were produced the grants and writings of your predecessors, Gregory,

[1] Mansi, xi. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, xiii. 960, 989.

[3] *Ibid.*, tom. xi. 180–183.

Boniface, Honorius, Vitalian, Sergius, Gregory, and the last Leo, which from time to time, from various causes, were given or transmitted to the Prelates of the Church of Canterbury and the Kings of England." [1]

As the Archbishop's Primacy extended over all England, and comprehended the ordaining of Bishops and celebrating of Councils, to prove that it was granted to him and maintained by the authority of the Pope, is to prove that mission and jurisdiction to govern the whole Church of England proceeded perpetually from St. Peter's Chair.

Thus, whoever might nominate and whoever might elect bishops, the power which constituted a particular person to govern a particular diocese was derived mediately or immediately from the See of Peter: that is, this See was the perpetual fountain-head of mission and spiritual jurisdiction. The Primacies which it had created, it likewise maintained; and that which was originally a communication of St. Peter's authority (for from him alone it comes that one bishop is superior to another), would subsist throughout by union with St. Peter.

He who is the source of spiritual jurisdiction is necessarily the Supreme Judge of doctrine.

But that which the See of Peter was, ages before the very foundation of the See of Canterbury, *in the whole Church*, it seems hardly necessary to prove, that it was always *in a province of the Church*. Could any province of the Church determine a point concerning the faith by and of itself, the least evil to which that must lead would be the dismemberment of that province from the rest of the body. For what can insure unity of faith without submission to a common head? This even our

[1] Mansi, xx. 23.

Lord did not attempt, even in a body of twelve. How can there possibly exist "one Episcopate, of which a part is held by each without division of the whole," unless there be one law for that whole Episcopate, maintained by one authority within it: as the very Saint who sets forth this idea of the Episcopate observes, "Unity is preserved in the source"?

But, as a matter of fact, for more than nine hundred years the See of St. Peter was in this nation the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, and matters of faith could be carried before it, as the court of appeal in last resource.

And, as a matter of fact, for nine hundred and sixty years sixty-nine Archbishops sat in the seat of St. Augustine at Canterbury, by the authority of him who sent St. Augustine.

But by whose authority did the seventieth sit? who gave to Dr. Parker not his orders, not his episcopal character, but *mission*, to execute the powers which belong to that character in the determinate See of Canterbury, and *authority* to execute the powers of a Primate in the province of Canterbury?

To this no answer can be given but one—Queen Elizabeth gave, or at least attempted to give, that mission and that authority.

Let us simply state historical facts.

Queen Elizabeth at her accession found the ancient relation, which for nine hundred and sixty years had subsisted between the See of St. Peter and the Church of England, restored by the act of her sister, after its disturbance by her father and brother. This relation consisted mainly in two points—that the Pope instituted all bishops, and was the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge.

Queen Elizabeth caused an Act of Parliament to be passed, depriving the Pope of these two powers. And

this Act was passed in spite of the remonstrances of the Episcopate, the Convocation, and the two Universities.

But she did not stop there. Who was to possess these two powers? Somewhere they must be. She coveted them for her Crown: she took and annexed them to that Crown.

She made herself Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge by causing the appeals, which had ever been made from the Court of the Archbishop to the Pope, to be made to the Crown. More need not be said on this head, as all the Courts of the kingdom have just affirmed this power to exist in the Crown; and as her Majesty, in exercise of her authority as Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, has just reversed the sentence of the Archbishop's Court, and decreed that the clergy of the Church have it wholly at their option to preach and teach that infants are regenerated by God in Holy Baptism, or that such a doctrine is "a soul-destroying heresy": nay, as the perfection of liberty, the same clergyman can now at the font, in the words of the Baptismal Service, declare his belief in the former doctrine, and in the pulpit proceed to enforce the latter!

She took to herself, likewise, the power of *instituting* bishops, which is of originating mission and jurisdiction; for every bishop of the Anglican Church has been from that time instituted by order and commission from the Crown, and by that alone. Now it has been well said, that "Sovereigns who covet spiritual authority have never dared to seize it upon the altar with their own hands: they know well that in this there is an absurdity even greater than the sacrilege. Incapable as they are of being *directly* recognized as the source and regulators of religion, they seek to make themselves its masters by the intermediacy of some sacerdotal body enslaved to

their wishes: and there, Pontiffs without mission, usurpers of the truth itself; they dole out to their people the measure of it which they think sufficient to check revolt; they make of the Blood of Jesus Christ an instrument of moral servitude and of political schemes, until the day when they are taught by terrible catastrophes that the greatest crime which sovereignty can commit against itself and against society is the meddling touch which profanes religion." [1]

Dr. Parker was instituted by four bishops without a diocese, who had no power whatever of their own to give mission to the See of Canterbury: they professed to act under Queen Elizabeth's commission.

But to show how the fountain of this mission and spiritual jurisdiction was made to reside in the Crown, we need only refer to the law which enacted, that in case an Archbishop should refuse within a certain time to institute a bishop at the command of the Crown—*a case which in three hundred years has never occurred*, though Dr. Hoadley and Dr. Hampden have been among the persons instituted—the Crown might issue a commission to any other bishops of the province to institute, thus overruling the special authority of the Archbishop as Archbishop.

Moreover, the letters patent of every colonial bishop declare in the most express words that episcopal jurisdiction to govern such and such a diocese, which the letters patent erect, is granted by the Crown.

And not only does the Crown *grant* this jurisdiction, but it can *recall* it after it has been once granted.

Take the latest exercise of this power.[2]

"The Queen has been pleased, by letters patent under the great seal of the United Kingdom, to *recon-*

[1] Le Père Lacordaire. [2] *London Gazette.*

stitute the Bishopric of Quebec, and to direct that the same shall comprise the district of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Gaspe *only*, and be called the Bishopric of Quebec: and Her Majesty has been pleased to name and appoint the Right Rev. Father in God, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, Doctor of Divinity, *heretofore Bishop of Montreal, to be Bishop of the said See of Quebec.* Her Majesty has also been pleased to constitute so much of the ancient diocese of Quebec as comprises the district of Montreal to be a Bishop's See and Diocese, to be called the Bishopric of Montreal, and to name and appoint the Rev. Francis Fulford, Doctor of Divinity, to be ordained and consecrated Bishop of the said See of Montreal." [1]

All that the Archbishop has to do in such a matter is to give episcopal consecration to a person so designated, on pain of having his goods confiscated and his person imprisoned; *but he does not give the diocese or the mission.*

Her Majesty likewise—in the exercise of Papal authority—has created sundry Metropolitans, as of Calcutta, to whom she has subjected all India; and Sydney, to whom

[1] Since this was written, a judgement of the Privy Council, accepted and ratified by the Crown, in the case of Dr. Colenso, has decided that the grant of spiritual jurisdiction from the Crown to bishops in colonies which possess a parliamentary constitution is invalid in law. They become, therefore, bishops without dioceses. It is stated in the papers that Dr. Selwyn and the other Anglican bishops in New Zealand have in consequenced petitioned the Queen to be allowed to return their letters-patent, which professed to give them jurisdiction. The papers do not state whence Dr. Selwyn and his brethren propose to get it for the future. It would seem as if the question of spiritual jurisdiction were not at all considered in the Anglican Church; yet absolution given by a true priest without jurisdiction is invalid; and this fact alone, without going into the question whether her priests are true priests and her bishops true bishops, annuls all absolutions in the Church of England,

she has subjected not only Australia, but Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand.

Now here let me observe two things.

First, that the power to nominate for election, or to elect one to be a bishop, is quite distinct from the power to institute or confirm, which latter *is the deliverance of the spiritual power of government.* The former privileges may be and are exercised by the civil power; but the latter authority must be derived from a spiritual source.

Secondly, the civil power may, if it so choose, give the sanction of civil law to the assignations of dioceses made by the spiritual power; and attach a certain *civil* validity to the spiritual acts of Bishops instituted by spiritual power. But here the case is quite different. The diocese is made and erected, divided and altered, solely by the civil power. The spiritual jurisdiction actually possessed by a bishop over his flock is taken away, as concerns a part of that flock, and conferred upon another. The bishop is purely passive under this. And so particular bishops, already supposed to be under the See of Canterbury, are without permission of that See subjected to an intermediate Metropolitan.

Now the whole principle of the Anglican Reformation consists in these two things—that the civil power is made the origin of Mission and Spiritual Jurisdiction and the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge. Those who ask for these things to be altered ask that the Reformation would be pleased to undo all that it did amiss, and so restore itself to Catholic Unity. Would that they may be heard!—but there are few signs of it.

And the whole of what I have written in the preceding five sections shows that the Papal authority consists in exactly these two points. And thus it was that Queen Elizabeth took and transferred the Papal Supremacy to

herself. And thus it is that authority to administer the Sacraments of our Lord Jesus Christ in this or that place or district, the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, the power to bind and loose, are pretended to be given by an earthly Sovereign. Can there be found in the history of eighteen hundred years a heresy more directly anti-Christian than this? It strikes at the very heart of the Church of God.

From the beginning the crime of being a creature and a slave of the State has been alleged against the Anglican Establishment. Is this charge true? and, if so, in what does it consist?

It is not because a communion is *established;* because its bishops are *nominated* by the Crown and sit in Parliament; because their acts have a civil validity; because its clergy are civil officers—that it can be justly called a creature or a slave of the State. All this may be innocently, may be rightly, may be most happily. But a communion is the creature and the slave of the civil power when the origin of its mission and spiritual jurisdiction, and the supreme judgment upon its doctrine, are vested in the civil power.

But to return to Queen Elizabeth. Armed with this civil law, which extinguished the supreme jurisdiction of St. Peter's See, and its institution of bishops, and transferred both these powers to the Crown, imposing an oath for their maintenance, she ordered this oath to be administered to the existing bishops. The Primacy was vacant, and sixteen members of the Episcopate alone survived. Of these *fifteen* refused to sever that link between their Sees and the See of Rome, which had subsisted for nine hundred and sixty years, from the very foundation of the Church; refused beside to acknowledge the transference of the two above-named

spiritual powers to the Crown. In virtue of that law they were deposed.

One bishop, Kitchen of Llandaff, had the heart to accept these conditions, and continued on in his See, surrendering to courtiers the greater part of its endowments.

But even he took no part in the confirmation or consecration of the new Primate.

And so the ancient Episcopate, which derived its succession from St. Augustine, and its mission from St. Peter, became extinct in banishment, in captivity, and in duress. The Episcopate which for well-nigh a thousand years had formed, and civilized, and blessed England in a thousand ways, and by which it was a member of the great Christian Body, was swept away.

And a new Episcopate, deriving its mission from Queen Elizabeth, and perpetually dependent for its jurisdiction on the Crown of England, and owning in that Crown its Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, arose. This is its origin, this the principle on which it is built, the subjection of the spiritual power to the civil in spiritual things, in faith, and in discipline. *Humanam conati sunt facere Ecclesiam.* They attempted, and they have succeeded. For myself, now that after long years of pain and distress, of thought, of inquiry, and of prayer, since by the mercy of God the light has broken upon me, let me say as much as this—for not to say it would be to conceal the strongest conviction, neither formed in a hurry, nor reached without great suffering — let those who can put their trust in such a Church and such an Episcopate, those who can feel their souls safe in such a system, work in it, think for it, write for it, pray for it, and *trust their souls to it.* But the duty

which I owe to Almighty God, and the regard which I have for my salvation, compel me to declare my belief, by word and act, that it is an *imposture*, all the more dangerous to the souls of men, to the affectionate, to the obedient, to those who believe that there is "one Body and one Spirit," because it pretends to be a member of the Catholic Body, with which it has broken the essential relation, and to possess spiritual powers which it has indeed forfeited.

THE EFFECTS OF ST. PETER'S PRIMACY AND OF THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

THE Primacy which our Lord set up for ever in His Church in the person of St. Peter and his successors was so set up to maintain unity of faith and communion.

That Primacy was finally abolished in the Anglican Establishment by Queen Elizabeth, and two of the chief powers belonging to it attached to her throne powers which cannot be separated—that is, to be the Source of Spiritual Jurisdiction and the Supreme Judge of doctrine. Have the two effects intended by the Primacy of divine institution—unity of faith and of communion—followed in the system set up under the Royal Supremacy of human institution?

Has the Anglican Church one faith? Has she communion with the Church Catholic throughout the world?

As to faith, the revelation of our Lord has been of late well divided into three great branches, which indeed are sufficiently indicated by the arrangement of the Apostles' Creed, viz., the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; the doctrine of the Incarnation; the doctrine of the Church.

It was this latter which was assaulted at the time the Anglican Reformation was set up; and of course to this latter we must mainly look to see the unity of the New Church. Has the Anglican communion any one consistent faith concerning the Catholic Church, and the sacramental system, which is in fact the applying of the Incarnation to the mystical Body of Christ and the souls which belong to it? Who will venture to say that it has, *as a whole?* I speak not of this or that party, Evangelical, Latitudinarian, or High Church, or the Oxford movement, within it; but does the Anglican Church, *as a whole*, deliver to men any belief as to where the Catholic Church at this moment is; whether the Roman is part of it or not; whether the Greek is part of it or not; whether Presbyterianism in Scotland is a branch of it or not; whether it is infallible or not; whether, if General Councils may err, the whole Church may err, and teach falsehood for God's truth? Each individual in the Anglican Church will have his own answer, or none, upon these questions. Yet all repeat: "I believe one Holy Catholic Church." How can they believe what they do not know anything about?

Or again, as to the benefits of Holy Baptism; are not the two great sections of the Establishment at daggers drawn about these—full of misconceptions even as to their own meaning?

Or only conceive that a late trial had turned upon the nature of the Holy Eucharist, instead of Baptism. The mind revolts at the thought of the blasphemies which would have been uttered, and the unbelief in that holy mystery which would have been shown.[1]

[1] Since this was written, a trial respecting the Anglican doctrine of the Eucharist was about to take place; but the maintainer of a sort of Real Presence pleaded that the time limited by the Act for

Now, not to mention the effects conveyed by Confirmation, and Orders, and Sacramental Absolution, there is not a rural deanery in England whose members could meet together without all or either of the above questions being an apple of discord, if flung among them.

But there is one point which runs right into the heart of him who is charged with the care of souls, and day by day leaves its sting there. The Anglican Church abolished at the Reformation that discipline of penance which existed all over the world. What has she substituted for it? Are her children to sin and sin on, for months and years together, and *restore themselves* when they please to the communion of the Church? sin on, to the very bed of death, in trust upon God's indulgence? Or what living bond of connection is there between the pastor and his flock *in health?* How can he ever come to close quarters with the secret sins of the individual conscience? How to deal with sins committed after Baptism is a question of the utmost daily moment to the clergy. How is it ruled for them in Anglicanism?

They have each to teach souls the way to Heaven; to teach young children, as well as to remind adults, of the privileges and duties of baptized persons; and how to be restored if they sin. They have all to attend death-beds, and sinners laden with guilt: are they to hear their confessions, or tell them to confess to God

trial had elapsed, and was very glad to escape from a decision by aid of this technical objection. Truly a heroic position for one who fancied that he was asserting a doctrine which is indeed the dearest privilege of the true Church, but which it seems he was content to hold as his individual opinion, denied by as many as list of ministers and laymen in the Anglican Church.

alone? to give them absolution, or to instruct them that God alone forgives sins, and *not* by His ministers?

These several parties will answer these questions in different ways. In the meantime the sinner dies!

Do Anglican bishops authorize auricular confession, or no? or, if they are asked the question, put it off with an ambiguity?[1]

Is the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession taught or not by the Anglican Church, or is it "an open question"? A bishop lately denied it in strong terms, preaching on a solemn public occasion at St. Paul's Cathedral, I think before the great Missionary power of the Church; the consequence was, that he was not asked to print his sermon.

Yet one would think this doctrine of some importance to the being of a Church.

Is it not universally felt that the Prayer-book looks one way, and the Articles another? The remains of the Catholic spirit in the former consort ill with the flagrant virus of the Reformation in the latter. It is a great contest which is to interpret the other: but the Privy Council seems to have turned the scale in favour of the Articles.

Thus it appears that the whole body of doctrine which was attacked at the Reformation remains in the Anglican system in a state of uttermost confusion. All that it has of good is that which it derived unaltered from the Roman Church: where it attempted to change, it set up nobody knows what, but something so indefinite, so ambiguous, so chameleon-like, in a word, so *dishonest*, that Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic claim it each for themselves. That is, a compromise was made of the whole sacramental system: and a royal

[1] These are facts which have come to the writer's knowledge.

decree now comes forth that the clergy may teach contradictories about it.

And is this indeed God's truth?—did our Lord set up a Church for this, that men might be tossed about with every wind of doctrine? But I go no further in a subject on which one might write a volume. I only wish to show the necessary result of a fatal principle.

And as to unity of communion with the rest of the Church, what has the Royal Supremacy done?—not merely severed it, as a fact, but made it *impossible*.

Other communions are unhappily schismatical, as being *de facto* disjoined from the Head: but they are not built upon, and do not consecrate, the schismatical principle. Greeks or Armenians might once more accept St. Peter's Primacy to-morrow. The very Monophysites have the hierarchical principle in perfection, and still look up to St. Mark's chair, even in its degradation, as the centre of unity; and they may one day remember that St. Mark was sent by St. Peter. But Anglicanism is founded on the very principle of denying St. Peter's Primacy, a principle of isolation and severance, which terminates the unity of the Church with each individual bishop, or rather makes all alike subject, as bishops, to the civil power. Were this carried out, there would be as many Christianities as there are Christian nations. But enough of divisions which sadden the inmost heart, and lead it to the conclusion that there is no Church upon Earth; for this every *consistent* Anglican must believe.

Is he not told that the Roman Church, the Greek Church, and the Anglican, which neither teach one creed, nor are united in one government, make up yet one Church; that is, spiritual bodies, which excommunicate each other, make up that "one Body and one

Spirit," which has "one Lord and one Faith"? When the individual conscience asks: What am I to believe *as a matter of divine faith*, on points where these authorities disagree, what answer can be given? Accordingly, the result, to every thinking mind, of Anglicanism is, that there is at present no divine teacher upon earth at all, whom we are bound to believe and obey. That is *naked infidelity*. Let me entreat those to consider this, who seem to have made up their minds to substitute what they call "loyalty" to the Anglican Church *for maintenance of the Catholic Faith*, in whose name they once said great things.

Now turn to the other side.

Has the *Divine* Primacy effected the purpose for which it was instituted? Has it maintained unity of faith and of communion?

As to faith, go where you will, and within the bosom of that communion which is built on the rock of St. Peter's Chair, you will find no variance of belief on that threefold cord of doctrine mentioned above. Neither clergy nor laity differ as to the doctrine of the Most Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Church, *nor as to all the consequences derived from them.* The parish priest pursues his daily task in no doubt as to the instruction of the young, the recovery of the wandering, the consolation of the dying. Councils of bishops meet in all directions, and send the result of their consultations and prayers to the common Shepherd of all, without contest, without variation of belief, from one end of the earth to the other. The Host comes forth in procession, and every heart is lifted up to the Author of Salvation, every head bowed in worship; one solemn feeling of the Real Presence fills a great church, and inspires its congregation. Moreover, saints live and

grow on it; societies of men and women are inspired by it unto all the labours of self-denying charity.

Take as symbols within the one communion the bare table and the deserted shrine; but comfort, respectability, order, the powers of the world that is.

Within the other, a people hushed in adoration, a cloud of incense, and the Present God; but poverty, continence, religious communities, the powers of the world to come.

Within the one, among the clergy themselves, disputes, divisions, indifferences, disbelief of all dogma.

Within the other, a system, acknowledged by all the faithful, encompassing and supporting them from the cradle to the grave.

And as to communion, throughout all regions of the world, how far more justly now than when St. Augustine wrote, may the Catholic say: "I am held in the Catholic Church by the consent of nations and of races, by authority begun in miracles, nurtured in hope, attaining its growth in charity, established in antiquity: I am held by the succession of Bishops down to the present Episcopate from the very See of Peter the Apostle, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, intrusted His sheep to be fed. Lastly, I am held by the very name of Catholic, which, not without reason, among so many heresies, that Church alone has to such a degree taken possession of, that, though all heretics wish to be called Catholics, yet, if any stranger ask: Where is the Catholic Church? no heretic will dare to show you his own Church."

Would not this seem to be a prophecy uttered fourteen hundred years ago? and yet as true is what follows:

"Those, therefore, so many and so great most dear

bonds of the Christian name with reason hold a believer in the Catholic Church, even if, through the slowness of our natural ability or the demerit of our life, the truth should not as yet have shown itself most fully revealed. But amongst *you*, where there is none of these things to invite and hold me, *the promise of the truth* alone makes a great noise; and indeed if this be so plain that it cannot be doubted, it is to be preferred to all those things by which I am held in the Catholic Church: *but if it is only promised and not shown*, no one shall move me from that faith which binds my spirit by folds so many and so strong to the Christian religion."

And now I have given the *Scriptural* authority for St. Peter's Primacy, carried on in his successors;

Where is the *Scriptural* authority for the Primacy of Queen Victoria?

I have given the *Patristic* authority, and that of Councils, for St. Peter's Primacy;

What Fathers and what Councils acknowledge a temporal supremacy of the State over the faith and discipline of the Church?

Let them be produced; let us compare the one with the other.

Is there *little* in Holy Scripture for St. Peter's Primace? *How much* is there for the Apostolate and Episcopate itself? But the words of God are few, only they create and they maintain. Set the weight of the world on those words which he addressed to Peter, and they will bear it.

But for the Royal Supremacy you have *nothing* to bring from Scripture; not one word, unless you like, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

And as for tradition, King Henry and Queen Elizabeth set themselves against the current of fifteen hundred years; they tore up what had been the root of their own Church for well-nigh a thousand. They severed themselves from St. Peter's See, and they sowed throughout their realm divisions never-ending—spiritual severance, isolation, and indifference; they destroyed that religious unity which, of all others, is the most precious inheritance of a land. This they were allowed to do, and yet at this moment more bishops, and well-nigh as many people, subject to St. Peter, own their temporal sovereignty, as compose that communion which acknowledges their spiritual supremacy, which is itself rent to pieces, and has the denial even of the doctrine of Baptism imposed on it by that supremacy! It was a fearful vision of schism and heresy which the poet saw:

> "A rundlet that hath lost
> Its middle or side stave, gapes not so wide
> As one I mark'd, torn from the chin throughout
> Down to the hinder passage, 'twixt the legs
> Dangling his entrails hung, the midriff lay
> Open to view, and wretched ventricle."
>
> —Dante, *Hell*, c. xxviii.

Am I to believe that this hideous phantom is the teacher sent to me by Almighty God? Is this the dispenser of His Sacraments? the pillar and ground of the truth?

Whither, then, shall I turn, but to thee, O Glorious Roman Church, to whom God has given, in its fulness, the double gift of ruling and of teaching? Thine alone are the keys of Peter, and the sharp sword of Paul. On thee alone, with their blood, have they poured out their

whole doctrine. Too late have I found thee, who shouldst have fostered my childhood, and set thy gentle and awful seal on my youth; who shouldst have brought me up in the serene regions of truth, apart from doubt and the long agony of uncertain years. Yet before I understood thee, I could admire; before I acknowledged thy claims, I could see that undaunted spirit which would resign everything save the inheritance of Christ; that superhuman wisdom, by the gift of which, while "earthly states have had single conquerors or legislators, a Charlemagne here, a Philip Auguste there; in Rome alone the spiritual ruler has dwelt for ages, smiting the waters of the flood again and again with the mantle of Elijah, and making himself a path through them on the dry land."[1] But now I see that the God of Elijah is with thee. O too long sought, and too late found, yet be it given me to pass under thy protection the short remains of this troubled life, to wander no more from the fold, but to find the Chair of the Chief Shepherd to be indeed "the shadow of a Great Rock in a weary land"!

[1] *Church of England cleared from Schism*, p. 394.

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A Day that is Dead.

By E. M. Quinlan.

The firelight glanced and danced over the furniture, playing strange games with the rich old carvings. Quaint shadows fell across the floor, and the corners became caves of darkness in the general dusk. Outside, the roar of the city sounded dim and distant, as Cecil Carey drew near the blaze with a sigh of satisfaction. This room had an irresistible effect upon those who came therein. Its old-world elegancies and up-to-date comforts seemed to say: "My mistress and I are one; come, tell us your troubles."

Here, then, in that happy evening hour when the half light makes everything uncertain, talk will drift into conjecture, and even the most reserved find themselves telling of aims and dreams and impossible ambitions, of youthful hopes and middle-age regrets. There was about the room none of the rubbish the average woman calls artistic; but there was dignity, and over all a soothing sense of calm.

But its mistress could not be called an average woman, as she sits by the fire with this boy friend, chatting as she only knows how of people and things. There is no malice in her talk, as with clear, swift touches she suggests the motives of others, and now and again come the flash of the eye and quaint humour her friends love so well. She has a stately presence, and a bright, joyous face surmounted by white

hair. An incongruous figure certainly, with those frosts of age upon her head, that dew of youth in her eyes. A woman people turned to look at, and having seen, would like to see again. For behind that bright smile there lies a background of strength, of iron will, a something that tells of good deeds done, of the peace that the world does not give. She is full of kindliness and fascination, a rare combination which attracts young and old, the dull and the bright. What has she done? asks the casual observer. How she has fought! exclaims the more sympathetic.

They are great chums these two, the boy at the beginning of life, the woman in her middle age. She has heard his confidences, and often she has trembled for him, for he is weak and clever, and Ella Bainton knows to what depths such a man may fall. His was not the genius that soars above defects, that commands the appreciation of the carping, and forces the righteous to smile with the sinner they would shun. He was just a bright, promising, boy plunged into the rapids of university life, with nothing to guide him but his self-respect. His home was the average prosperous home, Christian in outward observance, but eminently un-Christ-like in thought and action—a happy worldly home where care and sorrow had not entered, and success and the good opinion of men constituted the one thing needful.

Her love for Cecil was founded on his likeness to her brother, for whom she had given up the best days of her youth; and into the sister's heart had crept the thought that the knowledge of those years of strain and endeavour might now bear fruit in this man; that perhaps they would not be completely wasted after all. Some day she would tell him Fred's story, and the thought of his failure might strengthen another weak one to triumph.

But the time had come. Cecil was speaking of a friend who had "gone wrong."

"Then it came out, and he had to fly."

"And then?" asked the woman.

"No one knows, and no one cares."

"Ah, that is the trouble! 'no one cares.' No one thinks of the years before him, and the horror of it all. How do you know how much he was to blame? What was his home, or his training? Very little of the fear of God, and a great deal of ambition, and only self-respect as his safeguard." She spoke with heat, and the boy looked at her in amaze.

"You don't think that a fellow is going on the rocks just because he isn't a psalm-singer?"

"Not a psalm-singer, perhaps, for that seems to mean hypocrisy. But that fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom is necessary to the weak to keep them straight. And to the strong to take them to Heaven," she added after a pause.

A sweet, serious look came into her face as she turned to the boy and said: "You know my brother went wrong."

"Yes, I know," said Cecil in a hushed tone. "I am sorry, I forgot that when I spoke of Temple——"

"The brother with whom I lived abroad."

"Not really!" cried the lad. "Did it happen while you were with him?"

"No, before—that was why I went to him. I was so fond of him, so proud of him, and I felt so remorseful that when we were boy and girl together I had not always understood—no one had understood—and he grew up in the wild luxuriant growth of genius, untended, unpruned. He had money and brains but no ballast, and our one idea was success." She sighed and her listener looked interested.

"Please go on," he said, "if it does not hurt you too much."

"I can remember the day so well, the bright sunshine and the joyousness of everything. Mildred and I were coming from the Park, and near home Fred passed in a

hansom. He did not see us, but his face was dreadful: an awful hunted look, the terror of a wild animal. Something had happened, and we hurried home in silence. He left England that night. We did not see him again, but mother spoke of the colonies, of foreign travel and the advantage of making your own investments, and I think it lulled her anguish to think that she had imposed upon her friends. I brooded over his future. I pictured the long, hopeless days, when work would not come, when despair makes men devils. I saw starvation before him, for he had no money then. His passage was paid and no more. He and I had had much in common in the old days, and we had each reached a turning point in our lives. He took the road to unbelief and excess; and to me was revealed the glory of the saints, and I longed for an opportunity to prove the faith that was in me. One day a thought came to me. It dazzled me. I would go to him. I wrote and told him so. I heard of a respectable woman who was going to join her husband, so I made friends with her and decided to go in the same ship."

"I wonder your parents allowed you to go. It was an awful risk," said Cecil.

"They did everything they could to prevent me. But I went. They were both dead when I returned," she added simply. She held up her hand to the fire and played absently as if with rings. It was an unconscious movement, for she had almost forgotten the jewels that helped to pay for that journey.

"When I was gone, mother talked more than ever about travel and her two absent ones, and sent me boxes of finery which I seldom wore, and long letters of loving thoughtfulness. Her gratitude to me was very touching."

"By Jove! you were plucky," cried the boy; and there was silence for a while. She rarely spoke of herself, this strong, sweet woman; and now Cecil was learning the cause of the white hairs, and the secret of

that power which made her a pillar of strength to all her friends.

"Things must have been awfully rough out there for a lady. One always imagines diggers and desperadoes as much the same thing."

"Yes, it was rough. I saw something of life from behind the scenes, the scaffolding, the pulleys, and the wrong side of things. The passions and the laughter and the tears were all on the surface, and there was no dissembling of love and hate. The shams of civilization and the pride of life are unknown where aristocrats stand side by side with the people in the strife for gain, where the bread is kneaded by a lady's delicate hand and the only carriage folk are felons."

"But the men. How did they treat you? Were they never—"

"Never," she said quickly. "Cecil, they were most of them rough, all more or less desperate with a freedom from restraint in a lawless land, but those men showed me a respectful deference which would do honour to the courtliest gentleman in Europe. Your sex reverences a true woman wherever she is. They were sorry for me at first, for Fred found me rather in the way. But he was always so grateful when he was not drunk." She said this last haltingly, with evident shame, but she would leave no part of the story untold. "Often when I sought him at night they would leave the bar at sight of me."

She did not say that when she wandered in that search some merry maker would leave his companions to help her, and more than once a kindly word had stayed the uplifted glass, and the earnest, hopeful look in the girl's face sent many a roisterer home to his bed with thoughts of self-conquest.

"But he was not always drunk," she said, seeing a hard look come over her companion's face. "Only at first, and Mrs. Brown was always there to help. After a little he began to take a pleasure in me. There were

so few ladies, and we were thought so much of. He tried hard to reform, and I soon made friends, and I tried to keep him out of mischief. Then I gave parties nearly every night. Such parties! No one was asked, and every one came. Mrs. Brown swept up our little sitting room, and food was to be found in abundance in the kitchen. We never drank anything but tea; I was afraid of anything stronger, and they understood. It was wonderful how they always understood. There was never room for all the visitors, but they took it in turn to stand round the open windows. Fred was very proud of me then. I wore the pretty things mother sent me, and I sang—they said it reminded them of 'home'—Home, Sweet Home, The Last Rose of Summer, Ye Banks and Braes, The Minstrel Boy, and Annie Laurie. Madame Patti, with the thunders of Albert Hall applause in her ears, might have envied me the rapt audience in shirt sleeves and moleskins. I have seen the big tears trickle down bearded faces and splash upon brown hands, and none felt shame at the lump in the throat which made their voices husky. I could do anything with them at such a time. The landlord of 'The Bloody Hand' told me that my songs cost him half his custom, but he said 'God bless you!' under his breath, and I knew he did not mind. When they were in luck they sent me presents, potatoes—a great luxury—and groceries, and things, and we seldom sat down to a meal without a visitor, generally some 'poor devil down on his luck.'"

"That's what makes you so jolly to us youngsters," cried Cecil.

"Some of them were shy about coming too often, and then Mrs. Brown would find some excuse. 'Wouldn't he come and drive a nail in for the lady? She's tidying up the little room.' And the bright prints from the Christmas papers took so long to place to my satisfaction that dinner invariably surprised us in the middle. I did not like taking their gifts at first, and

yet I was afraid of offending them by a refusal; until one day a woman said, 'Take their presents when they are in luck, and then when they are hard up give them a bit of a meal sometimes. They won't feel so bad about taking it from you if it's turn and turn about.' After that I had no more scruples. Some of the days were sad enough when Fred fell into one of his desponding fits. He would do no work, but sat in a corner moping, with a several months old English paper on his knee. It seemed to recall the past that he had lost. Then the craving for drink would come into his face, and it was not easy to be bright and brave at those times. But they knew that mail day was a dreary one for me, and my reception would be more brilliant than usual that night, and the wits were sure to be at their best."

"What an angel you were! Didn't the whole crowd want to marry you?"

"Not all, but most of them. The butcher, for instance, was ready to throw over the little housemaid at home, if I would only say the word; and the barman—"

"O, I say!"

"He was a gentleman," she continued. "But I always told them there was some one else, and only a few suspected that I meant Fred."

"What was the end of it all?" said Cecil.

"A very sad one," she answered. "Just as he was beginning to get on, there was an accident and he was killed. I stayed on for a time, because I was so miserable, and I dreaded the return to England and the old society ways. When I left, the settlement turned out *en masse* and accompanied the coach. On the top of a hill we said good-bye. We shook hands again and again, and they patted me on the back, because they did not know what they were doing; and one gentle, delicate boy, quite unfit to battle with adversity, threw his arms about me and sobbed. They watched as long

as we were in sight, so the other passengers told me. I could not see, for I was blinded with tears. When we came to the coast, Steve, the coach-driver, came on board the vessel, to see that I was all right, he said, and to bring them the last news of me up yonder; and many were the small comforts the honest fellow stowed away in my cabin. The captain told me after, that he had had an interview with him, and the son of Neptune was warned if anything happened to me on the voyage the whole settlement would come down and beat him to a jelly. 'If all your friends are like him, they'd do it too!' he added with a laugh."

At this moment a high, affected voice was heard: "Where are you, Ella? I can see nothing in this darkness. There is a man in the library, such a vulgar creature, all covered with diamonds, who says he knows you. An awful person! He actually apologized for not having brought his wife. She has gone down to her mother, it appears. I am thankful; she is worse than he, I'm sure. The wives always are."

Ella was accustomed to her sister's little ways, so she waited with a smile.

"Oh, I forgot," said the dainty little lady. "He says his name is Merrivale."

"You don't say so!" cried Ella, and turning to Cecil, she said in a whisper: "The butcher! What a fortunate thing he has come to-night, Mildred. He can stay and dine. You are going to your father-in-law's, so you won't be bored by him, and Cecil will help me to entertain him."

The idea of an unexpected guest in that well-appointed house was so startling that Mildred exclaimed aloud. No one heard her, however, for Cecil and Ella had disappeared, and a stronger cry than hers would have been drowned in the hearty tones that greeted the opening of a door below: "It is just a treat for sore eyes to see you again!"

Genesius, Comedian and Martyr.

By Madder Browne.

One bright spring morning, in the year A.D. 303, the streets of Rome were filled with an excited throng. Here and there stood eager groups discussing some news of an evidently pleasing and unexpected nature; while others might be seen hurrying, with faces scared and averted, to seek shelter and protection in their homes. That morning Diocletian had published an edict which heralded in a fresh persecution of the Christians. The *vivaria* were to be filled with wild beasts, and the adherents of the hated sect were once more to be hunted and dragged from their hiding places, to feast the Roman holiday-makers with the blood they were only too proud to shed for the name of their Lord.

While the new edict was being eagerly discussed in the streets by the people who were already enjoying in anticipation the festivals promised them by the Emperor, somewhat apart from the Forum under the shelter of the Aventine Hill, a young girl of rare beauty stood on the balcony of one of the most sumptuous houses in Rome, lost in reverie. The far off murmur of the excited multitude hardly reached her ear or interfered with her thought. She had stood there already for some time when a sound of footsteps in the *pinacotheca* caused her to turn her head. A slave was in the act of crossing the court.

Claudia beckoned, and asked him what he sought.

The slave, making a deep reverence, replied: "The lord Murena and the poet Fulvius crave audience with the lady Claudia."

She made a sign of assent and, soon after the slave had withdrawn, the two Romans entered, bringing with them the celebrated actor Genesius who had just arrived.

This renowned comedian enjoyed the marked favour of the Emperor Diocletian, and had followed him to Rome for the purpose of celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the day of Maximian Hercules' association with the imperial crown. Numbers of fêtes given to the people had borne witness to the good will of the twin Augustan emperors, who, while on the throne had given many tokens of mutual affection.

Genesius had announced his intention of playing, or rather of improvising, at these *festas* one of those comedies in which the freedom of the dialogue lends itself to satire, and wherein the misdeeds of the great, the injustice of the powerful, and the absurdities of the effeminate can be represented with a realism and truth of which Aristophanes himself might have been proud.

The visitors had come to pay their homage to her whom they called, for her beauty, the Queen of Rome; and to inquire if the fatigues of the preceding day had not over-wearied her.

"By no means," replied Claudia, "but I love not sights such as I witnessed in the arena yesterday, and I have made up my mind never to give any more such, because they excite the evil passions of the common people."

"It seems, however," said Fulvius, "that our divine Emperor is going to take upon himself the task of catering for the pleasures of his subjects; for he has published a new edict against the Christians, and has given orders for the *vivaria* to be filled."

"So I have heard," interrupted Claudia, "but hast thou no fresh news of interest?"

"Indeed we have," said Genesius, "our inspired and

ever delightful poet Fulvius has completed his latest poem."

"His latest poem! Why, Fulvius," turning towards the poet, "how is it thou hast given us no hint of this?"

"And the subject of it is beyond all praise," continued Genesius.

"And what is it?" demanded she;

"Rhea Sylvia."

"It is indeed a beautiful theme," said Claudia, looking at Fulvius, "but is it not a somewhat strange one?"

Genesius, with an amused smile, went on; "I was much tempted to learn by heart some of the most remarkable passages and declaim them in the theatre before the Emperor, only—well, Fulvius had a fit of modesty, so instead of reciting the works of others, I must find a subject for myself."

"What! have you not already settled on a subject for your comedy?"

"Not altogether," replied Genesius, "and I want to ask advice from you my friends, for a poet and a woman, together, are better than all the critics in Rome. First of all, I do not want to have any wearisome, conventional characters in my comedy—no miserly father, no wicked heroine, no prodigal son. But as of course it must touch upon the events and vices of the day, I am turning over in my mind something that has been suggested by the Emperor's last edict."

"The edict against the Christians?" interrupted Fulvius.

"Yes," answered Genesius.

"Poor creatures; they will be destroyed at last," added Claudia in a softened voice.

"*Væ victis!*" laughed Fulvius.

"Explaining the habits and customs of the abominable sect?" suggested Murena.

"Do not use the word 'abominable,'" said Genesius in a grave voice, "for the word is not a true one. I have studied the question deeply, and have found

among them impossibilities and absurdities in abundance, but nothing more. And thou," turning towards Fulvius, "wouldst find in them a subject for a lovely poem, a poem, it is true, of humble life, but very charming, for one of their legends tells of a Maiden-Mother with a little Child in her arms, a lowly stable giving shelter to a God, and, side by side with them, slaves, their worshippers, who become god-like in their endurance; and there are ceremonies and rites practised by the Christians which are full of deep mystery and high philosophy."

"Does no blood flow in their sacrifices?" asked Claudia.

"No, except such as the fury of the lion sheds in the arena. This they count as a most honoured fate."

"And thou knowest their rites—their customs?"

"Yes—thanks to the peace they have enjoyed during these last few years, I have had an opportunity of making their religion an object of study; and in order to represent them with greater truth, I shall have before long the honour of showing you all the ceremony of Baptism, with many other curious practices which are yet unknown to the public?"

"And when will this representation take place?"

"In a few days, I hope."

"Then," said Claudia, "we shall all be there to learn and to applaud."

Murena looked up with a meaning glance, "And Galerius too," he said, "next to Diocletian?"

"Yes," said Genesius bitterly, "I make fun of the Christians, but he murders them. Galerius is a wild beast, he kills, not to punish, but purely for the love of killing. He will be, I am sure, the cause of Diocletian's downfall."

"And his own punishment," added Claudia.

New-comers now interrupted the conversation which was becoming, not only grave, but dangerous, for had one of Galerius' spies overheard the talk of Claudia

and her friends, doubtless before the night an order for their imprisonment would have come, and surprised them in the midst of their lives devoted to luxury and pleasure.

The games given in the Circus always drew large crowds of spectators, but on this occasion when they were graced by the presence of the Emperors and the Cæsars, the multitude which thronged the theatre was greater. Already, long before the hour indicated, the building was invaded by the impatient people. Along the roads, through the streets, under the Arch of Triumph, pranced and curvetted the well groomed horses of the Patricians; there, the four-wheeled *pilenta*, covered with garlands, and escorted by slaves, were to be seen bearing rapidly onwards the proud beauties of that imperial city, where Messalina and Agrippina so scornfully asserted and exploited the title of woman.

There, also passed in hot haste the *carpentum* of the Vestals with its royal blazonry, the chariot of the Flamens drawn by white horses and preceded by a lictor who cleared the way with his dread *fasces*. The trampling of fidgety horses, the cries of drivers and people resounded on all sides. It seemed as if a living sea was surging onwards to the portals of the theatre.

The Circus was built in a perfect semi-circle; round the sides were arranged, tier above tier, a series of steps or seats, high enough for comfort, having at every seventh tier, a step larger and broader than the others, which served as a pathway and was called a *præcentio*. The whole house, as we should say in modern talk, was filled with a clamorous crowd; not a single seat was unoccupied, while above all the stamping of feet and the noise made by new-comers trying in vain to find room where there was none, could be heard on all sides impatient calls for the arrival of the Emperor and the

princes. At length the curtain which covered the private entrance was seen to move and the imperial party made their appearance, their arrival being greeted by deafening cries and acclamations. Galerius placed himself immediately behind the two Emperors, and the shouts of the people gradually died away in the anticipation of the spectacle which was about to begin.

Meanwhile behind the curtain there was almost as much confusion and noise as in the auditorium, for the actors had no dressing-rooms and were standing about the stage, putting the last touches to their costumes. Some were arranging the draping of their tunics, others struggling with a refractory buskin, and a few complaining bitterly of their masks (which all Roman actors then wore) being so thickly lined that their voice could hardly be heard. Fulvius, as poet and friend of Genesius, had accompanied him on to the stage and was helping him to dress.

Genesius himself was pale and nervous; he seemed to have lost for the moment all his energy and brilliancy. That wonderful spirit of sympathetic action, which had so often drawn forth thunders of applause and which made him the idol of the populace, seemed gone out of him. He appeared possessed by a feeling of approaching failure, a feeling that no longer was he the great actor, but some one else. Spiritless and weak, for a moment he felt half inclined to plead illness and throw up his part.

Fulvius noticed the growing pallor of his friend, and placing his hand on his shoulder, said:—

"Genesius, my friend, thou seemest nervous and ill at ease. What hath come to thee? hath an evil dream clouded thy brain? Thou art usually so full of contagious fun that thou even darest to mock Diocletian to his face without fear of punishment."

"What is the matter?" replied Genesius, "I have had no evil dream. My brain is clear, and I feel fully able to do justice to my subject. But I have a presenti-

ment that my destiny is fulfilling itself. Something, I know not what, tells me I am about to tread the stage for the last time. It may be that Death is awaiting me this very night, and, if it be so, if the dread angel come in the midst of my triumph, I will bid him welcome. For methinks if the soldier ought to die on the field of battle, a comedian can wish for no better lot than to meet his fate before the public who applaud him."

"What a strange presentiment!" said Fulvius. "But the Gods grant it may not come to pass. Thou wilt delight us yet for many a year."

"Yes, it is a strange feeling, such as I have never before experienced; and stranger, inasmuch as it brings no sadness in its train. But the moment has come for me to appear," and Genesius pressed the hand of Fulvius, adding with a smile, "*Moriturus te salutat.*"

Fulvius went to take his place in the body of the theatre by the side of Claudia, and a moment after the curtain rose.

The attentive audience saw the actor standing magnificently dressed. As soon as the accustomed salutations had been made, the prologue was begun, and at the end of it was announced that the actor was about to parody some of the curious ceremonies and rites of the Christian worship. At these words the people broke into loud applause, while the curtain fell for a moment, to mark the distinction between the prologue and the play proper.

When the curtain again rose, the stage represented a chamber draped with black cloth, and in the midst Genesius, seeming to be in great agony, was seen reclining on a bed. Around him stood various friends and servants. One of them was bending over the couch gazing into his face, as if to read there the cause of his pain.

"O friends," said Genesius in feigned agony, "I suffer, I suffer cruelly."

"What is it that hurts thee? Where is it that the

pain attacks thee? Wouldst thou that we offer a sacrifice to Æsculapius for thy recovery?"

"Alas!" said Genesius, "Hygeia, Æsculapius and Serapis together would be powerless to assuage this terrible suffering;" and he fell back fainting, into the arms of his friends.

"Speak," cried they, "speak! is there naught that can give thee ease from this pain, or find thee some relief?"

The frame of Genesius seemed convulsed with agony, and with sighs and groans he gasped:

"There is one thing only,—that can—give relief—only—one thing—that can quench the burning fires—within me—only one thing—Baptism!"

At this the entire audience broke into roars of laughter, for the Emperor himself had given the signal to applaud.

The friends of Genesius fetched a long white robe, and with many grimaces and ridiculous attitudes, proceeded to clothe him in it.

One then brought water and poured it into a brazen basin, another got a huge scroll covered with symbols and mystic characters, while the rest half carried Genesius towards a marble vase which was also filled with clean water.

The audience, who had never before beheld anything like this, kept their eyes steadfastly fixed on the actor. Never had the comedian found a subject so fascinating for them, and while jewels and golden collars fell heaped upon the stage, the applause, hitherto somewhat restrained by the presence of the Emperor, changed into subdued murmurings, which were even more flattering than the previous tumult.

When Genesius had been led to the front of the stage, one of the attendant priests took the water in the basin and poured it over the sufferer's head, pronouncing at the same time the mysterious words which the Christians made use of when a convert was received into the glory of Baptism.

No sound broke the stillness which seized hold of that vast building whilst Genesius leaned forward to receive the water and inclined his body in a mock reverence. No voice, no movement told the breathless interest with which the mighty crowd followed the action of the play. But still, there remained Genesius with head bowed and hands crossed before his breast. Amidst a profound silence every eye was turned upon him, following his slightest movement, when suddenly, with a wild sobbing voice, bounding erect, his arms stretched out towards heaven, he tore off his mask :

" *Christianus sum !* " he cried, " I am a Christian, I am a Christian ! " Loud and continuous was the applause. Diocletian himself clapped his hands, and even the sombre Galerius gave a mark of approbation.

Genesius stood for a moment there motionless clothed in his white robes, his face now illumined with a heavenly splendour that seemed to shine forth from his very soul. Then he advanced nearer towards the people and said in a voice broken with emotion :

" People of Rome ! behold, I am a Christian ! "

His wrapt gaze and the majesty of his pose only produced another round of that thunderous applause of which he had been so proud. At this fresh access of popular favour, his face suddenly became deadly pale, his arms gradually dropped, his hands were clasped together, while he sank on his knees to the ground.

So he remained, his eyes still lifted towards heaven, his whole attitude at once full of dignity and humility.

" By the Gods above," cried Claudia turning towards Fulvius, " this is no comedy that he is playing now."

" Thou art right, lady, 'tis his life."

At this moment the emotion which possessed the being of the actor culminated. A glory that belonged not to this earth transfigured him : the ovation, which was accompanied by a rain of flowers and garlands, seemed only to pain and hurt him.

Presently he rose calm and radiant, and advancing

slowly, even to the extreme edge of the stage, he spoke in a voice which though low, thrilled and vibrated through every corner of the vast theatre.

"O Emperor, and ye who are here present, soldiers, philosophers and senators, men and women, hearken to what I am about to say."

A silence, deep and solemn, now reigned throughout the building, and all ears were strained to catch every syllable which fell from Genesius.

"Hitherto, never have I heard the word *Christian* without horror and disgust. Even those of my friends who professed that religion I have hated. I learned these mysteries and rites for no purpose but to make a mockery of them, and a spectacle for your amusement."

He was interrupted by a cry of "Glory to the Gods of the Empire!" and some added, "Health to Augustus and Galerius Cæsar!" but this interruption instead of troubling Genesius appeared only to give him more courage. He continued:

"But, O strange, O wonderful marvel! no sooner had the water of this pretended baptism touched my brow, no sooner had I answered that I really believed in the truth of what I was making but a mockery of, than I saw descending before me a countless throng of heavenly spirits who were clothed in shining robes of dazzling splendour, and shone with a flood of celestial light. No mortal tongue could tell their number, or describe their surpassing loveliness. One held a scroll from which others read all the crimes and sins I had committed since my childhood; sins, which I thought had been buried for ever in the darkness of the past. Even my guilty hopes and fears were written there—and as they read in passionless voices, the endless record of my sinful life, shame and horror seized upon me and overwhelmed me. In agony of soul I cried to God, to the God of the Christians I had mocked, that He would complete the work He had so wonderfully begun.

"Hardly were the words of prayer framed upon my

lips, when one of the angelic host, as if reading my inmost thought turned upon me a face beaming with divine compassion and love, and taking the scroll in his hand plunged it in the baptismal water at my side. Then, O marvel! he withdrew it cleansed from all stain of writing and showed it to me shining and whiter than snow—O touching symbol of a heart cleansed from guilt and restored to purity!"

Here Genesius paused, while tears streamed from his eyes. Then stretching out his arms entreatingly, as if he would take all in his loving embrace, he continued:

"Thou, then, O powerful Emperor and ye people of Rome who hear me, ye who have persecuted the Christians and derided their God, believe and confess with me, that Jesus Christ is the true God, that He is the very Truth and the very Light, and that through Him alone can ye obtain the pardon of your errors and crimes."

Genesius stopped. He stood silent and motionless. He knew—none better—what he had to expect, and calmly he waited for the outburst of frenzy that was to come.

He had not long to wait; for this profession of faith, so unexpected, hurled as it was, in the face of the Emperor and the gods, could hardly fail to kindle the rage of the populace.

This man, for whom but now, the people had no praise too high, no gifts too costly, would soon know what was the value of the favour of the mob.

From the moment he had thus proclaimed himself a Christian the grossest insults seemed nothing but a just punishment.

Covered with his white robe, standing amidst the flowers and wreaths and jewels that had been thrown to him, he seemed to have already won his palm, and to have received the crown even before having fought the fight. Doubtless his enraptured eyes, at that moment, still followed the angelic vision and his ears still heard

the heavenly music; for amidst the uproar that surrounded him he stood serene, and his lips still wore a divine smile.

Diocletian even now hesitated to arrest him, but Galerius whispered in his ear, and the Emperor sent for the prefect Plautianus.

"Away with him!" he said.

And Genesius was dragged away by the guards amid the shrieks and cries of the infuriated crowd, who now clamoured for the blood of him they had delighted to honour but a few moments before.

A few hours later and Genesius had undergone a cruel scourging.

The leathern straps had eaten into the flesh and torn it away in strips. Yet the martyr's face preserved its sweet serenity. It seemed as if the glory of his thoughts prevented him from feeling the agony of his torture.

When the executioner at length lowered his arm from very weariness, the Prefect, angry at having failed to overcome the steadfastness of Genesius, ordered the martyr to be stretched on the wheel. Then for the first time a pitiful shuddering passed over his features. But soon the smile returned and he spoke the blessed Name of Jesus and gave praise to the Christ of God with all joyfulness.

"Plautianus," said he, "there is no other God but Him whom I have had the joy to see, Him alone do I adore and serve and His am I though a thousand deaths await me. No torture can drag Him from my heart, or prevent my lips from praising His Holy Name. One grief only troubles me now, that I have so outraged Him in my life, and that now so late have I come to know Him."

After this every conceivable torture was applied to him, but in vain. Iron hooks tore his sides, and his bleeding body was slowly roasted over fire; yet still did he pray, and still did he smile.

Death was just about to release him when a young man pushed his way to the front and caught the fading glance of Genesius.

"Thanks, Fulvius," he whispered to his friend. "I await thee above:" then he slowly added, "Claudia will come too."

A few broken words trembled on his lips, and with a smile he expired.

The same night the body of the martyred comedian, Genesius, was secretly bought from the executioners, and his friends buried it in the gardens of Claudia.

Johnnie.

By Joseph Carmichael.

It was at the performance of an operetta, very popular at the time, that Johnnie and I first met. I had been working extra hard since my luck turned, and had been living for some time like a hermit in the midst of the bustle of London, so I needed a lively tune or two to rouse me a bit. By chance I found myself seated next to a good-looking young fellow of twenty or so—a gentleman, evidently, as his refined profile, well-formed hands, and easy *aplomb* testified. He was well made, had dark hair and a trim little moustache, but his face struck me as disappointing. It was care-worn and anxious. There were lines about it not befitting one of his age; darkish tints under the eyes and an unhealthy pallor and spareness, which I could not, in him, attribute to dissipated habits—there was something about him which repelled the accusation. His attire was quiet and in good taste, but somewhat wanting in the freshness looked for in a well-dressed man of the upper classes.

It pleased me to study him a bit before making myself sociable at all. An opportunity soon came for conversation. He had no programme, and mine was at once at his service. A desultory chat began, which became more and more conversational, until I found myself talking about my work and its belongings—some of my friends blame me for a too ready confidence in

strangers, but perhaps it is no very serious defect. The youth did not open out very readily himself, though he thawed by degrees, and we got quite companionable. "Had I plenty of occupation?" "More, almost, than I could get through." A hard expression crossed his handsome face for an instant, then with a sigh he said somewhat quickly: "I can't say the same for myself." He, too, as I gathered was "supposed" to be a journalist, but evidently, from his tone, an unsuccessful one.

Now when a fellow has enough and to spare it seems only the natural thing to want to help another who hasn't. At least, that is always my feeling, and I don't suppose I am much different from other people. It did not take long to let him know this. I produced my card as my credentials.

"I have no card," he said, reddening a little, "but my name is Barron—John Barron." "And address?" I said, pencil in hand. He hesitated, flushing still more. I interposed promptly: "However, you can easily look me up; you have mine." For, evidently, his was not altogether aristocratic. He seemed relieved.

How is it that one feels instinctively that a man is genuine and true? I had no misgivings whatever. I could have given that lad my last sovereign, had it been necessary—sure of doing the right thing! Something told me plainly that he was "down on his luck," as the saying is, and I meant to help him.

We were at the end of our evening's entertainment when a bright thought struck me. "Come and have a bit of supper," I said: "what is to prevent? We are 'brothers of the pen' so you will not think me obtrusive. We can talk over things comfortably." He flushed up again and began to stammer out some excuse, though not very decidedly. I over-ruled him at once, and carried him off to a restaurant, where we got a very decent supper, with a bottle of Siliery thrown in on his account, for he looked thoroughly down-hearted. We

sat on long after we had finished, for I could see he had something he wanted to bring out, but hesitated.

At last he made a clean breast of everything—as I supposed then. Good heavens! Only to think of it! Here was I, really well-to-do, with no care for the future, easy-going and extravagant, and he—well, it was the first meal he had tasted since a cup of coffee and a slice of bread bought from a stall that morning. The tears positively stood in the poor fellow's eyes as he thanked me again and again, with a warmth that made me quite shame-faced (for I had done no more than any man was bound to do) for what he called my generous sympathy. I wormed out the whole story (as I thought) by degrees, and a pitiful one it was. The rent of his diggings was paid up to date, and no more credit was to be had. The boy himself had tramped about all day, offering himself for any work you like, but he was always refused as being "too big a swell" (a bitter smile at this, in spite of the anguish at heart). He had only the clothes he stood in, and not a penny in his pocket; his last half-crown had been invested, with a recklessness born of despair, in the theatre where I had met him, for a few hours of respite from his misery.

All this came out by degrees, when he saw that I was in earnest with him and meant to make his cause my own. (I picture the horror of "prudent" persons at such fatuous impulsiveness, but, as I said before, the lad inspired me with confidence and I had no misgivings whatever.) Our conference ended by our starting off in a hansom—not without many protests on his part, overruled by me with the most fatherly sternness—for my lodgings. I had remembered that my old lady had just lost a lodger and had a spare bedroom, and Annie is always such a very civil girl that I knew she would make no difficulty about getting it ready at such a late hour.

Barron seemed too much astonished at last to make any more protests. He was so absent-minded in

stepping into the hansom that he dropped some small article out on to the paving-stones on the offside just as I jumped in. It fell with a little crash like glass, to be ground up immediately by the wheel as we started. I thought it might be an eye-glass or something, and was for stopping, but he would not have it, saying that it could not possibly be anything of consequence, for he had nothing valuable to lose. I could not help thinking that the "accident" was premeditated, but I said no more.

The bedroom happened luckily to be all ready for use, owing to a false alarm from an expected lodger. We turned into my sitting-room, which was cosy enough, with a good fire burning and the lamps alight, and I proposed a quiet smoke for half-an-hour or so before turning in. Nipper, of course, was fussy as usual. I was curious to see how he would receive Barron, for he is a clever little terrier and not easily pleased with strangers. I congratulated myself on my penetration when I saw the friendly way in which the dog welcomed him, evidently prepared to form a joint-stock company of three on the spot.

The boy did not at once sit down, but stood leaning on the mantelpiece, looking into the fire for a minute or two. He was evidently much disturbed in mind. In those days I was more æsthetic than religious, and though by profession a Protestant, I had an antique ivory crucifix as the centre-piece over the fireplace. I saw the boy's glance fall on it as we entered. After a moment he said: "Then you are a Catholic?" "No," I said, "not precisely; but I am cosmopolitan, rather, where religion is concerned." He hesitated for a moment, then broke down utterly. "God forgive me!" he cried with a catch in his voice; "I am a Catholic, but a most unworthy one." His distress was piteous to see. He seized my hand and kissed it and held it between both of his own, as he poured forth thanks and praises and blessings upon me—calling me his best

benefactor, his preserver, and a heap of other things. It was all very embarrassing, for no one could have done less than I had done under the circumstances. I saw there was something more to come, and so I got him to sit down and light up a cigar. Then with Nipper sitting on the rug, anxious to divide his attention between us so as to give no offence to either, Barron filled in the outlines of his story.

He was, as I had guessed, of good family—a younger son—an Oxford man, driven from home because he chose to differ from the rest in religion. (The drivelling idiots! A man, forsooth, who shows some interest in the things of heaven is to be held in less estimation than the empty fool who mocks at, or deigns to ignore them!) He had no hope of help from home, had tried journalism with the result already specified, and had come to the last act in the tragedy that night, had I not stayed the issue. What preyed upon his mind was the fact that the little object crunched under the wheel of the cab was a phial whose contents would have brought to him that night a never-ending sleep, as far as this world was concerned. He had bought it in the reckless mood which had seized him after all had failed; the frantic, desperate resolve to rid himself of his troubles blinding himself, curiously enough, to the fact that the act he contemplated was the greatest indignity he could inflict on the religion for which he had suffered so courageously up to that time. The fit of despair had passed into one of thorough penitence, and now, naturally enough, the lad was inclined to exaggerate my share in his rescue to something akin to heroism.

It was with a glad heart I went to bed that night. My hand was aching from the wrench that boy gave me as he bade me good-night, and blessed me anew as his best benefactor and preserver. I felt that I had been right for once in my estimate of character.

As master of the house I had proclaimed a respite from business for the following day. We were to have a day in the country after the strain of the previous evening. Breakfast, therefore, was not at a particularly early hour, and yet I was startled for the moment by vague misgivings when Annie remarked as she brought it up that Mr. Barron had gone out about an hour before. However, before any arrangements about postponing the meal could be made, he appeared, looking quite fresh and handsome in spite of his somewhat shabby clothes—I had made him take linen and toilet requisites from my stock. He apologized very prettily for being late. Then, when the servant had retired, he said: "I have been to see a priest. I was guilty of a grievous offence against my duty as a Christian yesterday," he added in a low tone, "I shall never forget it as long as I live—nor your kindness and goodness to me either —but I had to repair the breach of duty first thing, and now my mind is at peace."

The lad's candour was pleasing. I knew next to nothing about Catholic ways, but I guessed he had been to confession. He was overflowing with a charming gaiety all through the meal. It was so long since he had been able to associate with his kind that he perfectly revelled in the enjoyment of rational society.

I suppose it was the extraordinary nature of our acquaintanceship which brought it about, but we were on intimate terms at the outset. We mutually dropped surnames, and no brothers could have been under less restraint. He soon became "Johnnie" with me (how he brightened up at the sound of the familiar home name), and I was "old man"—probably on account of my superiority in years, for I had passed thirty, the boundary in the eyes of youth of the borderland of middle age, and the names stuck to each of us

Johnnie turned out quite a companionable lad, and a really brilliant writer. There was no lack of work for

him after I had pushed his first efforts a little with some of my editorial friends. We worked together in my room at our own particular tables. We smoked, and walked, and took our simple recreations together, and we even went to church together. Not that I had any special yearnings for Catholic doctrine or ritual, but Johnnie went, and, as a matter of course, I went with him. I think I soon began to realize that it was his goodness that made him such a gay, light-hearted youth, now that he was lifted up above the danger of melancholy, and I learnt to respect the religion which could preserve in the lad a pure heart and a thorough uprightness of life—the real source of the charm that lay in him. The only reason I had for complaint was his obstinacy about making use of my purse and my clothiers, until I turned to and gave him a regular lecture on submission to elders.

It seemed to me about three or four months after our coming together that one morning Johnnie came in from outside to breakfast, apparently having been occupied with his devotions, which I never interfered with. He was unusually smiling and happy. It struck me how handsome the boy was growing with the absence of care. He gave me an extra hard grip for "Good morning," and then, leaning over me as I sat, with one hand on my shoulder, produced from his pocket with the other a little leather case, which he pressed into my hand. It contained a massive signet ring.

"What is this?" I cried.

"Don't you know what day it is?" asked Johnnie, somewhat crestfallen, as he sat down in his place: "Twelve months to-day, old man, since we met."

The boy was right. To me it seemed only the other day. "I want you," Johnnie said, with that serious look in his dark eyes I liked to see, "to wear it always for my sake. It will remind *you* of my never-dying gratitude, and it will remind *me* of all I have to

thank you for." This and many other fine phrases the boy used; they pleased him, but made me feel rather foolish.

I thanked him warmly, for it was pleasant to see the lad so true. "I will wear it," I said in careless merriment, "till I'm tired of your company." We both laughed gaily at the impossible contingency.

Time flew along, and Johnnie and I became still closer friends, if possible, than before. Still, I could not help an uneasy feeling about him at times. It was unreasonable to tie him down to a hum-drum life with an old fogey like me. I had no right to his undivided affection. I should never marry, and nothing pleased me better than our present life, but he was different. I told myself, not without a pang, that the boy must be pushed on to something more suitable to his age and talents. It cost me a good deal to broach the subject. He laughed at first, and said I need not try that game to get rid of him, for he meant to stick. But when I persisted, he grew more grave, and eventually seemed disposed, though with less vivacity than usual, to fall in with my plans. He took my suggestions, went out more, even accepted an invitation into the country for Christmas with some friends who had growing daughters, and I congratulated myself (though I felt a hypocrite at that) at my success.

A trifling incident showed me my mistake. Nipper, in assumed savagery, biting my hand one day, loosened the stone of my ring, and I had to send it to be repaired. It happened just a day before Johnnie's expected return. I was longing to get him back, although I had only written once in answer to his almost daily letters—studiously avoiding all sign of the anxiety which I really felt (for life was terribly dreary without him) lest I should influence him against his duty. How glad I was to hear his step on the stairs, and to see his familiar face all aglow with its ready smile, as he

burst into the room like a schoolboy released for the holidays. "O Johnnie, boy," I shouted, "it seems an age since you left!" We grasped hands as though the sea had parted us for years, but then a change seemed to pass over him. He listened to me, but had not much to say, and seemed uneasy and embarrassed. "Ah," thought I, "he has something to tell me."

"What is it?" I said aloud, and he cleared his throat in a suspicious way, and kept his eyes on the fire as his words came slowly out.

"It will be an awful wrench, old man, but I suppose it must come." My heart stood still.

Just then in came Annie. "For you, sir," she said, handing me a tiny packet. "Oh, the ring!" I said. Johnnie looked up quickly. "That scamp, Nipper, loosened the stone, and I have been without it for two whole days. That's more comfortable," as I slipped it on the accustomed finger. A change came suddenly over the boy's face. The blood rushed to his temples even, and his eyes grew suspiciously dark and lustrous.

"Old man," he said, as he rose and leaned on the mantelpiece, looking down upon me as I sat by the fire, "I have grievously misjudged you." Then he told me of the pangs of the last few weeks. He was hurt by what he thought my indifference. He had even schooled himself into the thought that now he could stand alone, I wished to be left to grub along by myself in my old-bachelor way. My generosity had been won by his misery and want, but now I evidently wished no longer to keep him by me. He had come back steeled to obey my wishes against all his inclinations—for he should never be so happy (it gave me joy to hear it) anywhere or with anyone as he had been with me. As to marriage, there was no question of it. When, on shaking hands, he found the ring gone, my careless words rushed into his mind and strengthened the opinion he had formed, and then he knew that we had to part.

What a relief it was to me to hear all this! All my plans were shattered in a moment, and yet I was never so happy as when I knew that my boy was loyal and always would be—that he looked for nothing better than our old life of work and companionship. I made rather a fool of myself after that, but what could one expect?

Never a cloud came between us again. Soon after that my bad time came. A slip on the frozen pavement reduced me to the state of a helpless log. The spine was irreparably injured, and there I lay, month after month, forbidden to work—though I had no heart for it—and fretting at my idleness and uselessness.

To see the change in Johnnie! To see the masterful way in which he lectured and domineered over doctors and nurses! He might have been governor of a hospital all his life! To see the cheerful gaiety with which he assumed the *rôle* of bread-winner! He still gave me the old name, and he could never be anything else but "Johnnie," but our positions were reversed.

It was a terrible time, and yet a blessed one. I was never to be other than a cripple; though, thank God, I can move on my crutches now, and my brains and my hands are as strong as ever. But that weary time influenced my whole life. Religion had never before been more than a name to me, but now so near to another world, as I seemed to be, things took a new light. Johnnie's constant prayers (I know that now) helped towards the change. He said little about religion, but his anxious eyes spoke more than words. The thought of all the comfort and the joy his faith had been to him led me nearer and nearer to a desire that had long been taking shape within my heart, and ended in my reception into the Catholic Church.

There is little else to record. We are still together, and shall be now as long as life shall last, treading together our path of daily duties. Our fellowship grows

stronger day by day. Only one thought can cast a shadow on its quiet happiness—it must perforce come to an end. Death will inevitably, sooner or later, break the links that bind us, and that thought cannot but bring a tightening at heart; for life here will be but a dreary business for him who is left behind, whichever it may chance to be.

The Conversion of Cardinal Newman.

BY THE REV. LUKE RIVINGTON.

On the 9th of October, 1845, the following letter was posted by John Henry Newman to a number of his friends, having been written the day before:

"Littlemore, *October* 8, 1845.—I am this night expecting Father Dominic, the Passionist, who, from his youth, has been led to have distinct and direct thoughts, first of the countries of the North, then of England. After thirty years' (almost) waiting, he was, without his own act, sent here. . . . He is a simple, holy man, and withal gifted with remarkable powers. He does not know of my intention; but I mean to ask of him admission into the One Fold of Christ. . . .

"P.S.—This will not go till all is over. Of course it requires no answer." [1]

Speaking of that same year, Dean Church writes, "It was not till the summer that the first drops of the storm began to fall. Then through the autumn and the next year, friends, whose names and forms were familiar in Oxford, one by one disappeared

[1] *Apologia*, ed. 1887, p. 234.

and were lost to it. Fellowships, livings, curacies, intended careers, were given up. Mr. Ward went; Mr. Capes, who had long followed Mr. Ward's line, and had spent his private means to build a church near Bridgwater, went also. Mr. Oakeley resigned Margaret Chapel [the forerunner of All Saints, Margaret Street, London] and went. Mr. Ambrose St. John, Mr. Coffin, Mr. Dalgairns, Mr. Faber, Mr. T. Meyrick, Mr. Albany Christie, Mr. R. Simpson, of Oriel, were received [into the Church] in various places and in various ways; and in the next year, Mr. J. S. Northcote, Mr. J. B. Morris, Mr. G. Ryder, Mr. David Lewis. On the 3rd of October, 1845, Mr. Newman requested the Provost of Oriel to remove his name from the books of the College and University, but without giving any reason. The 6th of October is the date of the 'Advertisement' to the work which had occupied Mr. Newman through the year — the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.* On the 8th he was, as he has told us in the *Apologia* received by Father Dominic, the Passionist. To the 'Advertisement' are subjoined the following words:

"'*Postscript.*—Since the above was written the Author has joined the Catholic Church. It was his intention and wish to have carried his volume through the press before deciding finally on this step. But when he got some way in the printing, he recognized in himself a conviction of the truth of the conclusion, to which the discussion leads, so clear as to preclude further deliberation. Shortly afterwards circumstances gave him the opportunity of acting on it, and he felt that he had no warrant for refusing to act on it.'"[1]

[1] *The Oxford Movement*, by R. W. Church, Dean of St. Paul's, 1891, p. 341.

The same writer has said of the Oxford Movement that "Keble had given the inspiration, Froude had given the impulse; then Newman took up the work, and the impulse henceforward, and the direction, were his."

The letter of October 8, 1845, contained the judgement of its leader on the true goal of that movement. It meant "Rome." Mr. Gladstone, many years afterwards, speaking of Newman's relation to "the religious mind of England," says, "Of this thirty years ago he had the leadership; an office and power from which none but himself could eject him. It has been his extraordinary, perhaps unexampled case, at a critical period, first to give to the religious thought of his time and country the most powerful impulse which for a long time it has received from any individual; and then to be the main, though no doubt involuntary, cause of disorganizing it in a manner as remarkable, and breaking up its forces into a multitude of not only severed, but conflicting bands."

Of course we, as Catholics, believe that it was Almighty God Himself who removed John Henry Newman from his position as leader of the great religious movement which began at Oxford, and who placed him in the one fold of His Eternal Son. The influence of that act of October, 1845, has by no means spent itself; had Newman done nothing else but make that decision, he would have influenced the religious thought of England as no other individual has in this century, the more so as it has pleased God that we should know more about this one conversion than we know of almost

any other since St. Augustine wrote his Confessions. At Oxford Newman's influence was different from that of any other man, and to this hour his name exerts a spell over English minds which is quite peculiar. His sister wrote in 1841, "I am sure it is a great gift, that insight you show into human nature. When I think of people whom one calls decidedly 'clever men,' I see what I estimate in you is not their sort of talent; it is nothing intellectual, it is a sort of spiritual perception; and I wonder whether it is anything like the gifts in the Corinthian Church."[1] Principal Shairp has said, "The influence he gained without apparently setting himself to seek it, was something altogether unlike anything else in our time. A mysterious veneration had by degrees gathered round him till now it was almost as if some Ambrose or Augustine of older ages had reappeared. . . . In Oriel Lane light-hearted undergraduates would drop their voices and whisper, 'There's Newman.' When, head thrust forward and gaze fixed as though on some vision seen only by himself, with swift noiseless step he glided by, awe fell on them for a moment, almost as if it had been some apparition that had passed." And of Newman's sermons, the same writer observes, "Since then many voices of powerful teachers may have been heard, but none that ever penetrated the soul like his."

It was in the heyday of his influence, when deep in the study of the Fathers, that the first shock came, which ended, nearly six years after, in his

[1] *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii. (1891) January, 1841.

conversion. The Church of England is not strong in history: she has produced no single Church historian of eminence in three hundred years. She has been passed in this respect by German Protestantism, which has had at least a Neander.[1] In the year previous to that of which I speak Newman had answered a proposal to reform the Roman Breviary by saying, "I do not think it will do to attempt to correct it by history. None of the parties concerned are strong enough, in fact, to do so." It was Newman who really broke the ice. He plunged into the history of the fourth and fifth centuries, by which the real character of the Church must ever be determined, embracing as they do the Church's settlement of her doctrine on the Incarnation. He noticed in the history of the Eutychian controversy of the fifth century "the great power of the Pope (as great as he claims now, almost)," and although he seemed to see also a "marvellous interference of the civil power," he was destined soon to discover that whilst the latter was not really submitted to by the Church, the former fact was of vital import in the controversy between England and Rome. This was in the year 1839, and the light which found its way into his mind came not when he was ill at ease or already distrustful of his position, but in the course of his historical studies. The same year there appeared an article in the *Dublin Review* in which the author (Cardinal Wise

[1] Perhaps one ought to name Milman's *Latin Christianity*. From a literary point of view it is a book of great excellence, but it is so tinged with semi-Arianism that it cannot be placed on a level with even Neander.

man) showed that the mere fact that the Church of England was out of communion with the rest of the Christian world, was its sufficient condemnation. She indeed judged the rest of the Church, but the rest of the Church judged her. St. Augustine had insisted on the principle, "the world judges in security," as being fatal to the Donatists. He could point out that they had no letters of communion to the rest of the Episcopate; the Christian world did not recognize them. St. Optatus had led the attack, pointing to the fact that the Donatists at Rome had no access to the chair and tomb of the Apostle Peter. St. Augustine added that round that See was gathered practically the whole world, and the Donatists were not in touch with this world. It was this that Cardinal Wiseman pressed home the most.[1] Newman felt the force of the argument. He said in plain English that the article gave him "a stomach-ache." It was, he says, "the first real hit." "We are not," he says, "at the bottom of things." In the autumn of 1839, he tells Archdeacon Wilberforce that two things have disturbed him—(1) "the position of Leo in the Monophysite controversy," and (2) the principle *securus judicat orbis terrarum* used in the Donatist controversy. In other words, the history of the early Councils revealed the fact that Rome had some right to the claim of antiquity, and the actual

[1] It has been said that the existence of the Greeks in separation from Rome alters the state of the question; but the same argument applies to those Easterns who are out of communion with Rome. The Catholic and Roman world outnumbers all the other Christians put together.

state of affairs before his eyes, viz., the isolation of the Church of England, could not be reconciled with St. Augustine's arguments as to the universality of the Church. How could England be right, and the rest of the Christian world wrong? But in September of this same year he wrote a sentence which forms the key to his real character—a resolve which carried with it the secret of his conversion: for two things are required for conversion—the grace of God and the correspondence of man. Newman expressed the latter when he said, September 22, 1839, "I will not blink the question—so be it." He describes his mind in that year as being in presence of a "vista, opened, the end of which I do not see"; but he had determined not to "blink the question."

It must not, however, be supposed that Newman was actually fearful, at this time, as to the claims of the Church of England on his allegiance. It was more the effect on others that he dreaded. How could he satisfy them and make clear the strength of the Anglican claims, when in all honesty he must admit the Papal character of the Church in the fifth century, and when in all probability Cardinal Wiseman's article would infuse doubt into the minds of others?

The first antidote that he relied on was the suggestion that the children of the Church of England would best fulfil their duty to their [supposed] mother "not by leaving her, but by promoting her return, and not thinking they have a right to rush into such higher state as communion with the centre of unity." This, of course,

was dangerous ground to tread; it was making acts of humility at the expense of what he called his mother. It also shirked the question, Was the centre of unity Divinely appointed? If so, how could our Lord have placed us in separation from it, except that we might return to it by an act of obedience?

Another salve to be applied to the minds of those who might be disturbed in the Church of England was to be found in the idea that "the Catholic Church" had "not commanded their return at once" —an imagination which would necessarily be dispelled by the reflection that the Catholic Church has received the Bull *Unam sanctam* of Boniface VIII., and has always taught that there is no salvation out of the Church.

But in the same year he strikes a keynote, that was destined to lead to much, when he says, "Our Church is not one." It may seem strange that any one should have supposed it was; but, in fact, so long as the Church of England was fast asleep, it had some appearance of unity. A heap of sand looks at one with itself until it is moved by the wind or the spade; movement is fatal to its unity. It was the same with the Church of England; any movement in religious matters was bound to make clear its lack of real and living unity. It would reveal that there was no centre of gravity.

The following year, 1840, witnessed the greatest intellectual effort that had yet been made in defence of the Church of England. It was a long and brilliant article in the *British Critic*. Newman spoke of it as "almost my last arrow." It was

intended to set at rest the minds of those who were, or might be, disturbed by the *Dublin Review*. No one, I imagine, could read it at this distance of time without feeling its power, and without perceiving that it has served as an armoury from which Anglicans have drawn most of their weapons, directly or indirectly, ever since.

He maintains in that article that each diocese is a perfect independent Church, sufficient for itself; the essential communion of Christians lies in what they are, not in mutual intercourse, which is, if obtained, a happy accident, not of the essence. This was the burden of Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon* twenty-six years later. In this same article, Newman quotes, but misinterprets, St. Cyprian, and admits that St. Augustine is against his interpretation. He falls back on Gallicanism for support, but it is Gallicanism shorn of a vital principle, which was bound to bring its best members into line with the Church, viz., the necessity of communion with the Pope, whether mediately or immediately. In Newman's hands Gallicanism yielded the theory that Catholicity, not the Pope, is of the essence of the Church; the Church is, primarily and fundamentally, a united congregation, a thesis which he thinks, strangely enough, dispenses with the necessity of a visible head in the person of the Pope. Then he suggests that St. Augustine appealed to the state of perfect intercommunion, because it existed in fact, but that it does not follow that it is an indispensable mark—forgetting that Augustine again and again insists that the absence of intercommunion is fatal to the

unity of the Church as understood by St. Cyprian, who is clearly speaking of an essential feature of her life.

Further, Newman throws out the idea that "development" will cover the Anglican position; and insists that life being a note of the Church, the Anglican communion has sufficient marks of life to secure her inclusion amongst the various branches, as he deemed them, of the Catholic Church. Lastly, he takes refuge in the case of St. Meletius of Antioch, whom he erroneously supposes to have died out of communion with Rome,[1] and whose temporary isolation he compares to the three centuries of separation between Rome and England.[2]

In November of this same year he is still full of the difficulty of answering Wiseman's article, for he says, "the only vulnerable point we have is the *penitus toto divisos orbe* [isolation from the rest of the Church]. It is the heel of Achilles; yet a person must be a good shot to hit it." But Cardinal Wiseman had achieved the feat.

At the end of this month he consoles himself on three grounds in accepting Keble's decision that he ought to remain in charge of St. Mary's, Oxford (which he had thought of resigning). (1) "We don't know what the English Church will bear.

[1] Cf. *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter,* by the Rev. Luke Rivington, chap. xiii.

[2] In a note to this Essay, when re-published in 1890, Cardinal Newman speaks of this interpretation of the case of St. Meletius, so universally adopted by Anglicans, as being an instance of what they so frequently impute to others, *i.e.*, "a perversion of history in the interest of controversy." *Essays,* vol. ii. p. 105.

We are, as it were, proving cannon . . . one has no right to assume that our Church will not stand the test." (2) The sympathy towards Rome, evidently created by his teaching, was also created by Hooker and Taylor. (3) He might be destined to ward off Rationalism by remaining at St. Mary's; and "I am more certain that Protestantism leads to infidelity than that my own views lead to Rome." He still harped on Meletius: "I think that though St. Austin is against us, yet that the case of Meletius is certainly for us, and that our position is much more like the Antiochene than the Donatist." His anxiety in the matter was still mainly that he might be able to convince individuals that they were "not bound to leave the English Church." And he exhibits exactly that misapprehension which has appeared of late in so many Anglican writings as to the centre of unity. He says, "It is quite consistent to say that I think Rome the *centre* of unity, and yet not to say that she is infallible, when she is by herself." Of course, if she is the *divinely appointed* centre of unity, she cannot be by herself; the faithful must consist of those who are in union with her.

But all this time a stream of intercession had been going on, of which we are reminded by an incident in the beginning of the year. In January Newman had met Father Spencer, the saintly convert who spent part of his life in inducing bishops, priests, and laymen all over the Continent to intercede for the conversion of England, and one of whose Order was destined to receive Newman into the Church. The latter accuses himself of being

somewhat rude to Father Spencer when he met him at Oxford. Many a convert will understand the meaning of this. It is difficult to be all one would wish to one who is praying for something about which we think he has no business to pray with such assurance. But the prayers went on, and it is to these that Dr. Pusey, in a letter since published, attributed Newman's conversion.

The year 1841 was an important one for the Church of England. In February, Tract XC. made its appearance. So much has been written on this subject, and the storm which it raised is so well known, that it is only necessary to say here that its object was not so much to satisfy Newman that he could himself remain where he was, as to satisfy others that they might do the same. The traditional interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles had been, up to that time, on the whole distinctly anti-Roman, in the sense that they were held to condemn the Sacrifice of the Mass, Invocation of the Saints, and Masses for the Dead, whatever else they might permit or condemn. Here and there, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, an Anglican divine had ventured on a timid suggestion that they might be held to condemn only certain abuses of these and other doctrines, and not the doctrines as taught by the "Church of Rome" in general, or officially. Such an interpretation might be said to have been "implied in the teaching of Andrews or Beveridge"; but, as Newman observed, "it had never been publicly recognized." He made the trial. He claimed the right for himself or his friends to hold that interpretation.

He was already at Littlemore in the midst of quiet study and prayer, taking charge of that *dependance* of his Church of St. Mary, Oxford, when the storm burst. For himself, although "not confident about his permanent adhesion to the Anglican creed," he was at first "in no actual perplexity or trouble of mind," even when denounced from end to end of the land. The episcopate, indeed, simply flung his method of interpretation out of the window; but it did not trouble Newman; he thought the episcopal denunciations did not censure any one doctrine. It does not seem to have occurred to him that they were censuring Catholic doctrine all along the line.

But something else did seriously trouble him. In the course of his reading in Church history another ghost appeared. In the great Arian struggle he saw the Church of England reflected in that third party, which condemned, indeed, the Arian impugner of our Lord's Divinity, but stood aloof from Rome, whilst Rome represented the "extreme party" in her unbending orthodoxy. In these semi-Arians he saw the spirit of Anglicanism, the spirit of compromise and comprehensive toleration, at work; and it was unequal to the task of preserving the revealed deposit. Rome, he saw, is now what she was then, and the truth lay not with the *via media*, which was the way of compromise, but with the extreme party, that is to say, with Rome.

And now it was becoming evident that, as the bishops went on with their condemnations, the Catholic interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles was in real jeopardy. And there was one funda-

mental difference between Newman and Pusey, which was bound to lead him further when the latter might feel it possible to stay where he was. Newman, in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford on Tract XC., says, "The Church is emphatically a living body." Consequently, it could never suffice in the long run that he should be allowed to teach this or that, when the Episcopate were teaching its contradictory. A living Church must be a teaching Church, and the teachers of the Church are her Bishops. The fact that the Prayer-book contained statements which could be said to enforce Catholic doctrine would never make *the Church of England* a teacher of such doctrine, so long as her authorized interpreters declared against the orthodox teaching supposed to be enforced in that Book of Prayer; never, that is, supposing the Church to be "emphatically a living body." It was in this that Pusey and Newman really differed at bottom; it was nothing to Pusey that the Episcopate was against his interpretation of the documents of his Church, it was everything to Newman. He could not accept the position of representing the Church in opposition to the Episcopate. It was not, to his mind, a position consistent with the fundamental virtue of the Christian life. And without recognizing it, he was acting throughout the matter in accordance with the dictates of that virtue. Dr. Pusey recognized this in his friend, for he writes, "They who have read what Newman has written since on the subject [viz., Tract XC.] must be won by his touching humility." He was, indeed, as the whole history of these five years shows, possessed

with the spirit of submission. The lightest word of his bishop was to him a serious matter. This is, in truth, the only consistent attitude towards authority in those who adopt the Anglican interpretation of St. Cyprian's teaching. The Catholic interpretation understands the doctrine of that Saint on the Church, viz., that it is founded on the Bishops, to mean the Bishops as welded together by the See of Peter; the Anglican took the Bishop of each diocese as the foundation, and involved himself, logically, in the necessity of almost unqualified submission to each bishop. "It is our theory that each diocese is an integral Church, intercommunion being a duty (and the breach of it a sin), but not essential to Catholicity." Hence he argues that he will not resist his bishop when his will was made plain.

And now came a third blow. Newman had so far taken refuge in what may be called the continuity theory. He had said, "People shrink from Catholicity and think it implies want of affection for our National Church. Well, then, merely remind them that you *take* the National Church, but only you do not date it from the Reformation." It must be remembered that, up to this time, although Newman saw that the position of the Papacy in the early ages was something far beyond that which is assigned to it in the highest Church of England teaching, he did not yet see that that position rested on the belief of Christendom that the supremacy of the Pope was of Divine institution. Especially he did not realize what has become so evident since the publication of the Rolls Series

of Chronicles, viz., the peculiar attachment of the Church in England to the Papacy, which prevented it from breaking with the Holy See when that attachment was strained almost to bursting by demands for support in the difficulties in which Popes often found themselves in their struggles for the freedom of the Catholic Church. Accordingly, Newman suggested to Mr. Bowden the publication of a life of St. Anselm by way of bolstering up an assertion of Laud's that Anselm was his predecessor. It was with such champions of the faith as St. Anselm and St. Thomas à Becket that Newman wished to be one, and his estimate of the so-called Reformers of the sixteenth century had proportionately sunk. It was at this time that he said of Dr. Pusey, "We differ historically." And, again, "I do fear that his historical view of the Reformation is his great bulwark against Rome which is not a comfortable thought."

But Newman's idea of continuity was now destined to receive a rude shock. It was decided by the authorities of the Church of England to consecrate a bishop for Jerusalem. This was not really a more schismatical proceeding than the consecration of a bishop for Quebec; but it brought into startling evidence the true genius of the Establishment. "Our Church seems fast Protestantizing itself," he says. It was really only showing itself what it had been from 1558 onwards. But the dream of continuity had blinded the Oxford people to the facts of her history. There were in Jerusalem "perhaps half a dozen converted Jews" —"we are sending a bishop to *make* a communion,

not to govern our own people." It was "the corroboration of a present living and energetic heterodoxy." On the usual Anglican theory this would not seriously affect the question; for, as already observed, so long as some sentences remained in the Book of Common Prayer, it mattered not whether the episcopate and the whole teaching body inculcated heterodoxy—the book, not the teaching body, constituted the Church of England on that theory.

But Newman had already imbibed a truer idea of the Church. She was not a book, but a living body; and if the living body went wrong the Church of England went wrong. "I distrust the bishops altogether, *e.g.*, the Bishop of Lincoln told a person from whom it comes to me, that when he was appointed bishop he had not read a word of theology, but, since that, he had begun studying Scott's Bible." Again, "The Bishop of London has rejected a man for holding (1) *any* sacrifice in the Eucharist; (2) the Real Presence; (3) that there is a grace in Ordination.

He had, however, two refuges in this night of confusion in which for the moment he took shelter. One was that he and his friends might be in the position of the heathen woman, who was content to pick up the crumbs under the table, and might hope that in the acceptance of their position as dogs, they would be blest beyond their deserts. They had not even (on this theory) heard the command to sit down in the lowest place at the King's table, but they might have a good hope that they would some day be called to a place at the

great feast. The other was that they might wait for something like corporate reunion. He told a lady at this time that she, as an individual, should not seek great things for herself but wait, for three thousand at once were converted at the day of Pentecost. Both these ideas were doomed to a speedy end. He tells us later in life that he never could understand people being "converted in couples." And his subsequent conversion means that he had felt the call to sit down at the feast of good things prepared by the King here as a preparation for the Eternal Feast hereafter.

But during this period there appears a slight confusion in his mind, due to Protestant training, as to the nature of conscience. He says wisely, "I wish to go by reason, not by feeling." But he also says of his conscience, "That was a higher rule than any argument about the notes of the Church." He does not seem quite to realize that conscience is light, and an exercise of the reason, and that when the reason, exercising itself, with the use of prayer, on the credentials of the Church, sees that she possesses the true notes of heavenly origin, this insight comes from God—and nothing remains but obedience to the voice of God.

He managed, however, to comfort himself with the thought that the Church was like the Turkish Empire—a dismembered body. "Our Lord founded a kingdom; it spread over the earth and then broke up. Our difficulties in faith and obedience are just those which a subject in a decaying empire has in matters of allegiance." And then he compared the difficulties in which he found himself with the

imaginary difficulties in the Church of Rome as to the seat of infallibility—evidently showing that he was drawn towards Rome and had to erect safeguards against any impulsive action in that direction. Indeed, it seems as if Newman were destined to sound to its depths every reason for staying where he was, that no one who came after him might be able to say that he had discovered a reason for remaining which was not at some time or other present to Newman's mind. In the following year his sister wrote to him thus: "Dear John,—I feel it cannot be otherwise; whichever way you decide it will be a noble and true part, and not taken up from any impulse or caprice or pique, but on true and right principles that will carry a blessing with them."

On September 25, 1843, he preached his last sermon at St. Mary's, Oxford. It was of this that Principal Shairp has said, as quoted above, "Since then many voices of powerful teachers may have been heard, but none that ever penetrated the soul like his."

He now drew the curtains round his life to be more alone with God. During this time he seems to have laid the greatest stress on the note of sanctity. He thought he saw a want of it in the political action of Rome. He felt glad not to have to attack her doctrines; but had she the note of sanctity? And, on the other hand, had the Church of England any note except that of accordance with antiquity? Had she even that? He defines Anglican principles as "taking antiquity, not the existing Church, as the oracle of truth, and hold-

ing that the Apostolical succession is a sufficient guarantee of sacramental grace, without union with the Christian Church throughout the world." It was the exact position afterwards elaborated by Dr. Pusey in his *Eirenicon*. Newman, as many Anglican teachers since, compared the position of the Church of England to that of the ten tribes of Israel, who, he says, were "not in the Church, but had the means of grace and hope of acceptance with their Maker." St. Cyprian denies that the Church can ever be thus divided, but his passage alluding to the ten tribes seems to have escaped both Newman and Pusey.

One barrier, however, to Newman's submission needs special mention. He was, he says, "in a serious state of doubt," but "I could not go to Rome while I thought what I did of the devotions she sanctioned to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints." It is well for us Catholics to remember this fact when dealing with our non-Catholic friends—to remember how deeply-rooted their prejudices are on this particular subject. Some centuries of non-Catholic life have done their work. But in Newman's case the difficulty was now in part removed by something which he had taken with him into his long retreat. He had met Dr. Russell, of Maynooth, at the end of 1842, and of him he says that "he had more to do with my conversion than any one else." He did not speak on religion when they met, but he sent Newman some cheap tracts. These were destined to enlighten him as to the true character of Catholic devotion to our Lady and the Saints.

And now it was that the genius of Newman showed itself. His standpoint had been antiquity; he had sought for Rome in the primitive Church and not found her. He had imagined that he had seen something like the Church of England there. But it was the Church of England, not as he saw her before his eyes, but as he had idealized her in his hopes. Was she there at all? If not, was Rome there? It now occurred to him that in seeking for Rome in antiquity, he was seeking for her clothed in the accidents of her present position. Divest her of her accidents, and was she there in essence, in substance? Was not this all for which a rational historian could look? It was an inspiration. The note of antiquity could not mean, in either case, that Rome or England were to be found in the primitive Church just as they are seen in the nineteenth century. Was it not a sound principle that we should expect some kind of development? What, then, are the natural laws of development, and is Rome, according to those laws, to be found in the primitive days? The further he pursued the matter, the clearer it became that the Supremacy of the Holy See was there, in the earliest days, in substance. It acted then as we might expect it to act, and its action then was the natural counterpart, given the change of circumstances, of its action now.

He had begun his inquiry with saying of the Roman question, "I will not blink it." Now in the life which he led of prayer and mortification, away from the distractions of other work, he bent his whole self to the work before him. He was, in

fact, working for others in the future. His long, patient waiting at Littlemore was to be a vicarious sacrifice. It would lessen the work of others after him. He says, "I gave my mind to the principle of development." He saw that "the question simply turns on the nature of the promise of the Spirit made to the Church." He began to see that—(1) There is more of evidence in antiquity for the necessity of *unity* than for the Apostolical succession, (2) more of evidence for the *See of Rome* than for the Presence in the Eucharist, and (3) more for the practice of *Invocation* of the Saints than for certain books in the present Canon of Scripture. We believe the latter, why not the former set of truths?

Still quietly, with perfect self-control, with a clear conviction of the danger there would be in impatience, precipitancy, or indulgence of irritation, he proceeded, until in 1844, he speaks of a "deep, unvarying conviction that our Church is in schism, and that my salvation depends on my joining the Church of Rome? Can *I* (it is personal, not whether another, but can *I*) be saved in the English Church? Am I in safety were I to die to-night?"

And now he began his famous Essay on Development, and sounded the real meaning of the appeal to antiquity. The See of Peter stood out as a divine foundation, and the Church then, in communion with that See, was seen to be the same in substance from end to end of her career; and on October 8, 1845, John Henry Newman, the great religious genius of this century, the brilliant,

humble, self-sacrificing, patient scholar, divine, historian, could say of himself in reference to his nearly completed work, "Since the above was written, the author has joined the Catholic Church."

P.S.—I subjoin what Cardinal Newman wrote in answer to the plea of Anglicans that they feel the effect of Sacraments in their hearts and lives, and that therefore theirs must be true Sacraments. "You tell me," he says, "that you have the clear evidence of the influences of grace in your hearts, by its effects sensible at the moment or permanent in the event. . . . You tell me of the peace, and joy, and strength which you have experienced in your own ordinances. . . . Why should I deny to your memory what is so pleasant in mine? Cannot I too look back on many years past, and many events, in which I myself experienced what is now your confidence? . . . Can I wipe out from my memory, or wish to wipe out, those happy Sunday mornings, light or dark, year after year, when I celebrated your communion rite, in my own Church of St. Mary's [Oxford]; and in the pleasantness and joy of it heard nothing of the strife of tongues which surrounded its walls? . . . Oh, my dear brethren, my Anglican friends! I easily give you credit for what I have experienced myself. . . . Yet what has this to do with the matter in hand? . . . Whatever be the comfort or the strength attendant upon the use of the national ordinances of religion, in the case of this or that person, a Catholic may admit it without scruple, for it is no evidence to him in behalf of those ordinances themselves. It is the teaching of the Catholic Church from time

immemorial, and independently of the present controversy, that grace is given in a sacred ordinance in two ways . . . Grace is given *ex opere operato*, when, the proper dispositions being supposed in the recipient, it is given through the ordinance itself; it is given *ex opere operantis* when, whether there be outward sign or no, the inward energetic act of the recipient is the instrument of it. . . . It is plain from this distinction, that, if we would determine whether the Anglican ordinances are attended by divine grace, we must first determine whether the effects which accompany them arise *ex opere operatis* or *ex opere operato*—whether out of the religious acts, the prayers, aspirations, resolves of the recipient, or by the direct power of the ceremonial itself—a nice and difficult question, not to be decided by means of those effects themselves, whatever they be. . . . Let me grant to you, then, that the reception of your ordinances brings peace and joy to the soul; that it permanently influences or changes the character of the recipient. . . . There is nothing to show that the effects would not have been precisely the same on condition of the same inward dispositions, though another ordinance, a love-feast or a washing of the feet, with no pretence to the name of a Sacrament, had been in good faith adopted" (*Difficulties of Anglicans*, vol. i. Lect. iii. Longmans. 1885).

*** Cardinal Wiseman's article "The Anglican Claim of Apostolical Succession" (see p. 5), has been reprinted in pamphlet form by the Catholic Truth Society, price 3d.

Mother Margaret Hallahan.

(1803-1868.)

By Lady Amabel Kerr.

The subject of this biography was the only child of poor though respectable parents, who had migrated to London from Ireland before she was born. They had been comfortably off, but were so reduced in circumstances that during the latter years of his life Mr. Hallahan earned his living as a porter in a wine-merchant's office. Adversity soured the tempers of both himself and his wife, and the atmosphere of their home was neither peaceable nor pleasant. So painful an impression did the domestic jars and jangles make on little Margaret that she registered a childish vow never to marry, and this resolve was prominent in her mind even before she was called to the religious life. A foolish and harmless word of admiration from a fellow-servant cost the offender a severe box on the ear; and the effect of the first and only offer of marriage that she received was to make her kneel down there and then on a kitchen chair and make a vow of perpetual chastity—a vow renewed and ratified later with the sanction of her confessor. In spite, however, of its discord, her home was a happy one. Her father worshipped and freely indulged her, but her mother was watchful and strict, and gave the little girl some lessons which she carried

with her through life. Margaret was gifted with an impetuous nature, which on one side showed itself by violent ebullitions of temper, and on the other by fervent acts of piety somewhat extravagantly expressed. "Take care!" said Mrs. Hallahan warningly, when she found the child prostrating herself and kissing the ground; "little saints make big sinners." This anecdote gives us a clue to whence it was that Mother Margaret herself drew the shrewd commonsense which so characterized her.

Margaret, however, lost both her parents by the time she was nine years old. When her father died she was placed by friends in the Somerstown Orphanage, where during three short years she received all the education ever bestowed on her; and when Mrs. Hallahan followed her husband to the grave, the little girl, only nine years of age, began a life of domestic service, in which she persevered for nearly thirty years. She would not have wished it otherwise, for she said of service that it was a holy state. "It is so hidden and ignored," she wrote later on in her life; "it is so full of self-sacrifice that is never considered. God has appointed otherwise, or else I should have chosen it in preference to any other state."

For the first eight years after she was put to service her situations were very varied. The most permanent one held by her was with Madame Caulier, the wife of a French *émigré* noble, reduced to earn her living in London by dressmaking. She was a lady of great piety, but made austere by circumstances. Partly as a result of the souring effects of adversity, but partly on principle, she treated Margaret with the utmost severity, professing all the while to regard her as if she were her own daughter. The child's nerves broke down under the treatment. She could not meet her mistress without dropping whatever she held in her hand, and her naturally hasty temper increased in violence. She never forgot the darkness of that time, and when—only a year before her death—business took her to Cheapside through the street where she lived with the

French lady, she burst into tears at the mere recollection of her misery. "When *I* take in little orphan children," she said to herself while still in Madame Caulier's service, "I will do what I can to make them happy. They shall never have to regret their parents as I do." And grandly did she in later life carry out this design formed in her suffering childhood.

Some of her transitory situations were in Protestant families; and in these places she always stood up boldly for her religion, being remembered in one of them as "the little maid who would not eat meat on Fridays." On one occasion, when a fellow-servant spoke sneeringly about the devotion paid by Catholics to Our Lady, words failed her in her indignation, and she snatched up a large dish, and broke it over the man's head.

When seventeen years of age she was engaged to wait on Dr. Morgan, an invalid and a most holy Catholic. Having nursed him faithfully till he died, she spent the rest of her life in the world in his family, first with his son, and then with his daughter, Mrs. Thomson. Dr. Morgan left her a legacy of fifty pounds; and it is characteristic of her spirit of gratitude as well as of her contempt for money and her supernatural views of life that she spent every penny of it on Masses for the repose of his soul. Mrs. Thomson always looked on Margaret as one of her family; and she in return lavished all her heart's love on her mistress and her children. Speaking of the latter she said that her feeling for them was the strongest human affection she had ever experienced. The suffering she felt when she took one of the little boys and left him at Stonyhurst was so acute, that it brought home to her how mighty the tyranny of human attachment could become. The fear which seized her in consequence was so great as to make that day a turning-point in her life; and thenceforward she gave herself to God more completely than she had ever done before. Among other sacrifices made at that time was that of all secular reading, which was a perfect passion with her. Though possessed of a very imperfect technical education, and ignorant to the

end of her life of the rules of orthography and arithmetic, Margaret's mind was a storehouse of knowledge, and she devoured every book she could lay her hands on, from the poems of Sir Walter Scott to the ascetical works of St. John of the Cross. Now, however, she put aside all secular reading; and it was at this stage of her life that she took the vow of perpetual chastity mentioned above.

The last fifteen years of her life with the Thomsons were spent in Bruges; and during those years she led a semi-religious life without in any way neglecting her household duties, which as time went on became more, rather than less onerous, owing to the reduced circumstances in which her employers found themselves At Bruges she put herself under the direction of M. Vervasel, a confessor so severe that few had the courage to persevere under his guidance. She heard Mass every morning at four o'clock, practised severe penances, and spent every moment of leisure allowed her in visiting the poor and sick, on whom she bestowed all her savings and whatever funds she could obtain by begging from others. When, some years after she had left Belgium, Dr. Ullathorne visited Bruges, he found the memory of Margaret as fresh as when she lived there. With marks of reverence he was shown the spot near a column in the Church of St. Jacques where she used to kneel when hearing Mass, and which was still known to all as "Margaret's corner."

Her long residence in a Catholic country, where God was freely served, and where every portion of His service was fittingly carried out, had a lasting effect on the mind of Margaret, and influenced her very much in the part she played in England. Her life-time covered the great transition of this century in the position of Catholics in our country. Among her earliest recollections was that of her secret pilgrimages with her parents to Tyburn, to venerate as far as possible the scene of the martyrs' triumph; the object of the expedition being most carefully concealed from Protestant neighbours lest unpleasant consequences might ensue. When she was

in service in Margate she and other Catholics were invariably pelted with stones on their way to and from Mass. But when she died in 1868 the state of religion was very much what it is now, and Catholics might do anything and everything, certainly without raising persecution, and rarely even mockery. Her experiences of the splendour of Catholic worship in a Catholic country, and the fervour and enthusiasm which it kindled in her soul gave her a total want of reserve or self-consciousness about Catholic external observances which it took most of her co-religionists in England years to acquire; and enabled her not only to join in, but to give an impetus to the Catholic revival.

While living in Bruges she felt strongly impelled to a religious life; and that she did not at once follow the impulse was regretted by her afterwards as an infidelity to grace. As a matter of fact, whatever resistance there was did not come from herself. M. Vervasel, her severe confessor, stoutly opposed the step; and she, having when she put herself under his direction vowed obedience to him, submitted, though her soul remained dissatisfied. "I feel I want something, I know not what," she said; "I want something for God." We who can look back on her life as a whole, know what God had in store for her to do, towards which He was slowly directing her steps. While she would have fain satisfied her restless desire for action by devoting herself at once to the religious life, her director, guided by the Holy Ghost in a way that was possibly unknown to himself, kept her back with an apparently wooden obstinacy from committing her to a step which would have put an insuperable barrier in the way of that great work which she was to do in England. As a sort of compromise she obtained M. Vervasel's consent to enrolling herself as a Dominican secular Tertiary, which, while it bound her to certain rules, left her free to continue her life in the employment of the Thomsons.

Towards the end of her sojourn in Belgium a severe illness caused her to be removed from the Thomson's house, to which she never returned. When dismissed

from the hospital she and a few other tertiaries formed themselves into a sort of community, living together and working for souls under rule. But the attempt proved a failure. Of work for souls there was indeed plenty, but as there was an utter absence of funds the community dispersed, and the day came when Margaret, having cut herself off from her friends, found herself alone in the world, homeless and almost penniless. This was God's opportunity.

A friend of hers in England, Mrs. Amherst, having heard of the way in which Margaret was devoting herself to the service of the poor in Bruges, urged her to come and devote herself instead to the needs of the souls and bodies of her co-religionists in England. She hesitated, but M. Vervasel, with an alacrity which at the time deeply wounded her, urged her to accept the offer, and she unwillingly followed his advice. It was only later that she realized how completely this holy priest, who now passed from her life, had acted under the guidance of the Holy Ghost.

On the 30th of April, 1842, Margaret landed in England. She went almost directly to Coventry, by invitation of Dr. Ullathorne who was starting a mission there, and to whom Mrs. Amherst had recommended her. There she was ostensibly in the capacity of school-mistress, though she had to find the children before she could teach them. In this, however, she found but small difficulty, and in an incredibly short time gathered two hundred round her. Of technical education she herself possessed but a modicum; and the consciousness of this made her very diffident about undertaking the office of teacher; but, nevertheless, she managed with the sole aid of some of the older girls to keep the school in a state of efficiency. She relates that she used to walk about from one class to the other, invoking the aid of the guardian angels of the children to supply her deficiencies; "and I think," she adds, "that they must have heard me, for though I was myself so ignorant, the parents always seemed satisfied, and said that they got on."

Of salary for this employment she had none, for she obstinately refused to receive a farthing. "Salary!" she cried indignantly when the subject was broached to her; "I came here for the sake of God and not for money!" She even refused to be supplied with clothing, saying that she already possessed a sufficient stock to last her; and when in the course of time some articles were nearly dropping off her, it was with difficulty that even then she was persuaded to accept the gift of new ones.

Great as was the work she effected in the day-school, the results of her labours were even greater in the night-school which she opened for the lace-making and factory girls, whom, besides teaching, she got to know in their own homes. The good she did among them was wonderful, and they, both Catholics and Protestants worshipped the very ground she trod on; and numbers of the wild, untaught young creatures were, through her instrumentality, received into the Church. Every moment not taken up by teaching was spent by Sister Margaret—as she got to be called—in visiting the poor, and especially the sick, in their own homes and haunts. When M. Vervasel had urged her to accept Mrs. Amherst's invitation she had protested that to return to a Protestant country would be "like going to hell;" nor, after she had experienced the actuality of English town life, did she see much reason to mitigate this opinion. "When I returned to England," she says, "I cannot say how distressed I was by the vice I saw everywhere. Every face seemed to bear the stamp of mortal sin. They all looked like so many lumps of flesh without souls; the very atmosphere seemed full of sin. At first I thought it had an effect upon the sun, and that it was the sins of the people that made the air so damp and foggy."

Far, however, from being dispirited by the sense of the sin which surrounded her, it winged her steps in her errands of mercy. There were in Coventry, as in all our larger towns, some poor creatures laid low by the most hideous diseases, so horrible that they

were deserted by relatives and neighbours alike. Such as these were the objects of Margaret's tenderest care; and with the aid of some of the better class of girls, whom she rallied round her, she devoted herself to providing for their souls and bodies. Few stories of the heroic charity practised by the saints in similar cases surpass the devotion displayed by Margaret in this modern, unromantic, manufacturing town; and it was given to her to reap a visible reward of her labours, for every one of these poor creatures, abandoned by man and on the verge of being forsaken by God, were received into the Church and died a holy death.

It was not only by visiting the sick and teaching the ignorant that Margaret did God's work. In the school-room after the classes she started simple services composed of the recitation of the rosary, with hymns and litanies; and these services, attracting the taste of the people of Coventry, were thronged, and imperceptibly changed the features of Catholic worship in that town. Dr. Ullathorne, of course, sanctioned the school-room services, but it was a long time before he could be induced by their manifest success and the evident good which resulted from them, to adopt anything of the same kind in the church. He, one of the old school of priests who had served God under difficulties which we know not of, was slow to believe that the Church might now safely emerge from the holes and corners into which persecution had driven her. Some of Margaret's indiscretions horrified him, and when he found that she had set up a little Belgian statue of Our Lady in the school-room he at once ordered her to lock it up in her drawer. She, accustomed to other ways of making manifest God's ways, regarded this as a slight on Our Lady, and suffered and prayed in silence, until at last the strength of her convictions re-acted on him. But on one point she was more urgent. Owing to the prevailing timorousness it was not the fashion to keep a lamp burning before the Blessed Sacrament, lest drawing attention to the altar might court irreverence and profanity. This outward ignoring of

Our Lord's presence wounded Margaret most deeply; for her long residence in a Catholic country had shown her that the more the Blessed Sacrament is known, the more will it be adored. On this point she could not keep silence, and by dint of importunity prevailed on Dr. Ullathorne to let her make the experiment of lighting the sanctuary lamp on Rosary Sunday. She herself bought the best cut glass lamp which her finances allowed; and the light thus kindled by her devotion was never extinguished.

During those early days in Coventry, Margaret, as schoolmistress, lived in the presbytery; and after a few months filled the post of housekeeper as well. Once a week Dr. Ullathorne sent for her to his parlour, and they conversed long and deeply together about the affairs of the mission, and the best means of coping with its needs; and out of these talks arose the great work of Margaret's life. Removed from the restraining influence of M. Vervasel, she yearned more than ever for the religious life, and expressed the wish to combine it with carrying on her present work at Coventry. Dr. Ullathorne entered warmly into her idea, and suggested various Orders well adapted to the scheme, which it might be well for her to join. But she stoutly maintained that, having given herself to St. Dominic when she was enrolled as a Tertiary, she neither would nor could belong to any Order but his. And so it came about that in these weekly conferences in the presbytery parlour the idea arose of establishing in Coventry a community of conventual Dominican Tertiaries, such as have existed since the days of St. Catherine, alongside of the secular Tertiaries, which were founded by St. Dominic like those of St. Francis, for the sanctification of people in the world. Having obtained the permission of the Provincial of the Dominicans, Dr. Ullathorne hired a house in Spon Street, and there under his direction, in spite of his being a Benedictine, the little community was formed in March, 1844. It consisted on starting of Mother Margaret herself, two young ladies of Coventry, who had

helped her in her work during the last two years, and another from a distance, a penitent of Dr. Ullathorne's. They all went through their noviciate together under his direction; and Mother Margaret was appointed superior, in spite of her deep humility and assertion of her lack of the art of government, and in spite especially of her desire—born of the consciousness of her strength of will and character—to be ruled over instead of to rule.

The early days of that little community are full of interest; and the stress of poverty under which it laboured reminds us of the beginnings of many other great works undertaken for God. Pending the compiling of a simple rule, which was executed soon after by Mother Margaret, Dr. Ullathorne started the four sisters with a few pregnant maxims. "First put on the spirit of Christ, and then the spirit of the rule on that," said he to the diffident and inexperienced Superior; and the more she pondered over his words the more light she gathered from them. One of his maxims sounded almost like a joke, but it had a powerful effect. "Eliminate two words from your vocabulary," said he; "uncomfortable and impossible." The success of this elimination was wonderful. The young women who had thrown in their lot with Mother Margaret had been brought up in easy if not in luxurious circumstances; and belonging as they did to an entirely heretical neighbourhood, they were cut off from even such a knowledge of the meaning of a religious life as must be possessed by every convent school-girl. Nevertheless they threw themselves heart and soul into their new life of privation, slept soundly on planks and old doors from which even the handles had not been removed, and feasted with relish on puddings of the consistency of cannon balls, or, when these were lacking, on boiled nettles. So great was their fervour that one of them was heard to exclaim: "How sweet everything tastes here, yet what should I have thought of it in my father's house?" Often, indeed, the little community would have been in want of any food at all, had it not

been for the aid of the Dominicanesses of Atherstone, and of Mrs. Amherst, who, feeling responsible for bringing Mother Margaret to England, kept a watchful eye over her and her sisters.

The only one whose heart was sad, in spite of the granting of her soul's desire, and of the manifestly good work done by the infant community, was Mother Margaret herself. It was God's way of dealing with this valiant and holy soul, that every fresh step she took, and at the beginning of every new work, she would be the prey to a profound and almost supernatural despondency. Few, however, judging by appearances, could have divined the mental sufferings she went through, for she was always outwardly strong, cheerful and brave in the face of the direst difficulties. So well did she know the nature of the trial that she did her best not to listen to her despondency; and her superiors and others who worked with her refused to let themselves be influenced by it, but got rather to regard it as a token of God's approval of the project in hand.

On the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1845, the four Sisters took their vows. One year of peace they had, reaping what they had sown, but that was all, for peace and rest were not to be the lot of Mother Margaret and her companions. Almost as soon as they had settled down, Dr. Ullathorne was named Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, which would of course remove him from Coventry. He had twice escaped being made Bishop; but this time he had to submit, and full of trouble went into the school to break the news to Mother Margaret. Reading the trouble in his countenance, she hastily put a little child off her knee, and went to meet him. "I know what it is," said she; "you are a Bishop!"

The blow was a terrible one to the little community It was too much in a state of infancy to stand without him to whom it owed its existence; so the only thing to be done was to pull it up by the roots, in spite of all the good it was doing and promised to do, and transplant it to his diocese, at the risk of its perishing like

a half-grown tree in the process. Never had Mother Margaret felt so crushed as now. Dr. Ullathorne describes how when he left her, preparatory to going to Rome, she fell on the ground and clasped his feet with an emotion quite foreign to her. "God alone! God alone! God alone!" she wrote at the beginning of a letter penned in those dark days; and this cry, wrung by anguish from her soul, became henceforth the motto of her life and of that of her Sisters.

The anxiety consequent on the move was really very great, —all the more so as Mother Margaret found herself compelled for the first time to act for herself and on her own responsibility. At last, however, through the generosity of Mr. John Wright, a suitable house was found in Bristol into which the sisters moved, furniture for both chapel and convent being provided by the fraternal charity of various other religious orders. When the foundation was made at Bristol, the poverty of the Sisters of Penance (as Mother Margaret's community began to be called), reached its lowest ebb. However, as the proverb says, dark is before dawn, and from that moment pecuniary matters improved; for some postulants joined the community with means of their own sufficient to make life possible. They united all other requisites to this, otherwise it is certain that Mother Margaret would not for one moment have entertained the idea of accepting them. She never could bring her great soul to worry herself about ways and means. All her works were undertaken solely for God and His glory, and to Him alone did she look for support. Her belief in the efficacy of prayer, and her confidence that God would provide for those who put their trust in Him, were unbounded. This may sound like a truism, but Mother Margaret carried the principle far beyond the region of truisms. The instances when her prayers were answered in a way which may pardonably be called supernatural were numerous; for often the exact sum of money she had asked of God was sent unexpectedly, and sometimes from unknown sources.

It was this supernatural principle of turning to God

alone to support works undertaken for Him which made her almost fiercely intolerant of obtaining money by means of bazaars and kindred contrivances. The money thus obtained was worthless in her eyes. She considered the system as a desecration of the very name of charity, and as most pernicious to the souls of those who were persuaded to give their money to the poor in that way. The best way, she used to say, if we want God to be generous to us, is to be generous with Him. So, when all other means failed, and her works undertaken for the glory of God were threatened with destruction, she used to take one or more orphans into the house free of charge; and this method of obtaining pecuniary aid never failed. When a certain Religious Superior was trying to give her a lesson in finance, and explained how he was in the habit of investing the funds of the community—"Oh," said she, interrupting him, "I always invest ours in little boys and girls!"

As to postulants, her preference was for those who were as poor as she was herself. Before she died she urged the Sisters never to reject any on the score of poverty. "Remember," said she, "that your first Mother was one of the most contemptible of God's creatures, who in the world had to earn her bread in the sweat of her brow."

During the short time that the Sisters of Penance were at Bristol the little community was able to assume a more distinctly conventual character. Mother Margaret spared no pains to make them what she called true Dominicans in interior ways as well as in externals; and tried by every method to kindle fervour in the souls of her Sisters, declaring that she would rather work with one fervent religious than with a hundred who had not the right spirit. Of all forms of prayer the Divine Office was that which kindled most devotion in her, and her love for it was at once the root and fruit of her vocation as a daughter of St. Dominic. The dream of her life was that the Sisters should sing the Office in choir, for not till then would she feel them to be real Dominicans. This dream, however, did not become

a reality till within a short time of her death. When the community was first started at Coventry, the Little Office of Our Lady was daily recited, but owing to the ignorance of the sisters it had to be said in English. Now, however, in Bristol, a step in advance was made, and thanks to the training of Father Newsham, an acquaintance of one of the sisters, they learnt to sing it in Latin. So particular was Mother Margaret about its correct rendering both as to ceremony and pronunciation, that even as she lay in bed dangerously ill of typhoid fever, any mistake made caught her ear, and she tried to draw attention to it by rapping on the wall.

The history of the next twenty years of Mother Margaret's life is in reality the history of her many foundations, at which it is impossible to give more than a passing glance. In 1848, having totally failed to find a suitable and permanent house in Bristol, the convent temporarily established there was moved to Clifton, where it prospered until after she had gone to her reward. Some of the foundations, such as Bridgewater, Rhyl, and Leicester were too short-lived to need more than mention, failure being a certainty as soon as a trial had been made.

A gentleman having left Mother Margaret a legacy in order that a convent should be started in the Potteries, the foundation of Longton was made; but after a fair trial it was transferred to Stoke. Mother Margaret was glad when compelled to withdraw her sisters from the dismal place, where as she epigrammatically said, "they heard nothing but sin, and saw nothing but black mud." She was not what the world would call prudent as to ways and means, but even she was aghast when, while the debt on Clifton was unpaid, she was urged by her superiors to build a large and suitable noviciate on some ground which a benefactor enabled her to buy at Stone. However, as she said, her bank was in heaven, and, ever the child of obedience, she set about the work. Her ideas were always grand; and in 1852 the foundations were laid of a convent "such as

she had in her head." That was her crowning work, and remains till now the greatest monument to her zeal and enterprise. Two more foundations she made, at St Mary Church, Torquay, and at Bow. This last, made when she literally had one foot in the grave, was nearer to her heart than any other, partly, perhaps, because it was her last, and mostly because it was set down in London, to fight with evil on its own battle-field.

Thus she went on working for God to the very end, neither finding rest nor seeking it. "Do not talk to me of rest," she wrote in one of her letters, "I hope never to rest till I get to heaven;" and, in truth, her wish was granted. It is difficult to believe, as we follow her through her busy life, and trace her clever active brain in one work for God after the other, that she never knew what it was to feel well. Her sufferings from her girlhood upwards were most acute. While still a young servant she, taking pleasure in hearing herself called as strong as Samson, raised and carried upstairs a weight which two men hesitated to raise together. She permanently injured her back by this exploit and suffered excruciating pain to the end; though her life of ceaseless activity proved the fallacy of the physicians' verdict that she would have to lie on a sofa for the rest of her days. The injury produced a tendency to internal abscesses, which not only caused her real agony at times, but also poisoned her blood, so that at last she had no sound spot on her body, except her face, which was left untouched and unmarred. But not even when these terrible abcesses formed did she cease her work for a single day. One morning a Sister entered the Mother's cell to ask for some relaxation on the score of indisposition. Unperceived herself, she saw the Mother engaged in washing her wounds, while she prayed aloud for strength to get through the duties and fatigues of the day. Needless to say the Sister retired, ashamed to ask for the desired dispensation.

She bore the burden and heat of the day under these circumstances till she was in her sixty-fifth year, when

her sufferings had increased to such a degree that she could conceal them no longer. Still she never sought for sympathy and compassion, but turned to God alone. "All is good for the soul," said she in writing; "and it is a strange pleasure to say to Our Lord from time to time, 'You and you only know what this miserable carcase goes through'"—words which cast a side-light on the ruling motto of her life and extend to it the additional meaning of "alone with God." "God must be very near when we can feel the thorns with which He is crowned," were favourite words of hers. In November 1867, seeing that she could scarcely drag herself about, but quite oblivious as to the extent of her maladies, Dr. Ullathorne ordered her to take a fortnight's complete rest in bed. She obeyed, but from that bed she never rose.

Mother Margaret's death was one of almost unsurpassed agony; and, wrung by pain, she constantly exclaimed that her back was breaking. Yet her vigorous humanity kept death at bay, and, as it were, forbade her soul to take its flight, for days after the doctors had pronounced that she could not live for more than a few hours. But to the end she lost neither patience nor placidity, nor did the torment she suffered make her for one moment lose the thought of God, or ignore the real meaning of death. How often, when the poor body is racked with unbearable pain, have we heard even good people cry out for death as a release from suffering; but to Mother Margaret death meant much more than that. When her sufferings were at their worst, the sense of her unworthiness overwhelmed her; and whilst physical pain could extract no cry from her, the fear of the coming judgement broke her down, and turning, full of human weakness, to the Sister attending on her, she would say piteously, "Oh, I am so frightened."

It was then, when poor human nature was suffering more than it could bear, that Almighty God hid His face from her, and left her in a state of awful desolation. What were racked frame and broken back to that? "Oh," she cried, bursting into tears, "I could bear all

the rest if it were not for this!" Truly those last days illustrate more clearly than all that had gone before, during the sixty-five years of her pilgrimage on earth, how intensely and entirely 'God alone' was the ruling thought of her life.

For six tortured months she lay on what she called "a bed of fire;" and yet never one word of murmuring broke from her. A Sister who wrote down her reminiscences of that last terrible illness said that what most struck them all was that she was "so exactly the same as when in health." "O will of God! will of God!" were the words most frequently on her lips; and also: "My God and my all!" Thus the long weeks dragged on, till on March 11, 1868, God willed her purgatory on earth to cease, and called her to Himself.

Such was Mother Margaret's life. There remain a few words to be said of what she was in herself; and by taking hold of and dwelling on a few of her leading characteristics, to show how it was that she, an ill-educated orphan, came to do the great work she did.

"God alone!" Such was her motto, closely adhered to by herself and bequeathed to her spiritual children. If the term be permissible, it may be said that the thought of God—the living and personal God—was the passion of her life. It was said that to hear her pronounce the two words, "Almighty God," was enough to kindle devotion in the soul of the hearer. Living, as she did, in His presence, face to face with Him alone, gave her that largeness and singleness of mind and soul which marked her and left its stamp on her intercourse with others. She lived without strain or effort in the presence of God. One day a Sister showed her a book of devotion which recommended the practice of beginning the day by putting ourselves in the presence of God. "What nonsense!" she exclaimed. "Why, one is never out of His presence!" The Sister, whose views were less large and high than hers, tried to explain the words as meaning that we should try to realize His presence. "I don't understand those rigmaroles,"

retorted Mother Margaret. "If you are always in His presence, how can you put yourself into it more?" "I must be a very wicked woman," she said, on another occasion, "for I get into a passion and go about scolding people, and yet I am never out of the presence of God for a single instant."

And yet, in spite of this, she was never carried away by devotion. Her prayer was always a rational effort of the will. "I have strong impulses to work for God," she explained; "and I may say that the voice of God is in a way quite clear to me at times. But I have no impulses of sensible devotion as I hear others speak of. But the last few years I feel a more close union with God, so that I am glad to go to my bed at night to be alone with Him."

From this realization of God's presence there necessarily followed a devotion to His will, which may be called the master-key of her life. It was a sort of sacrilege in her eyes to utter any complaint whatsoever. All that God sent was for the best, because it was He who sent it. Thus, whatever occurred, whether it were hot or cold, whether it rained or the sun shone, whether things prospered or whether they failed, whether the community suffered loss or whether she herself were racked with pain, her one unfailing exclamation was: "How good God is!" How living the God of her worship was to her can best be shown by the following characteristic anecdote. A Sister was trying to explain to her the tenets of Positivism, and how it places humanity in the place of God. In her desire to make clear her meaning, the Sister argued how it was possible for such tenets to be held with satisfaction to the individual. Mother Margaret first looked up to heaven, and then, turning on the speaker with a look of indignation, exclaimed, in language which may be called all her own, "He'd be but a rotten sort of God, my dear!"

Anything that seemed to encroach on the rights and prerogatives of God, and anything that looked like arrogance on the part of the creature, filled her with a sort of holy terror. When the first International Ex-

hibition was held, in 1851, and all men were full of the great things which it was to do for the world, she trembled lest such sentiments should call down the judgements of God, and certain devotions were practised in the Convent by way of reparation. So also, when shown the Menai Bridge, she, full at once of admiration and fear, exclaimed, "If men do such things as these they will begin to think they have no need of God!" She really rejoiced when she heard of the failure of some scientific enterprise, saying that she liked men to learn that God was their Master.

Her constant and simple realization of God's presence made it so difficult for her to use any fixed method of mental prayer, that after trial she gave up the attempt. When the hour fixed by the rule for prayer arrived, she knelt down and, in her own words, "looked and asked." When asked by a Sister how she ought to say the Office, and what she ought to think of while saying it, she replied, "Well, *I* just stand up before God and say it in His presence as well as I can."

Her faith in the Blessed Sacrament—usually styled by her "Our Lord" pure and simply—was vivid and realizing. "I see," said she on one occasion, "the wisdom of having screens in churches, and Our Lord raised out of reach at Exposition, for I know by myself what people might be tempted to do in moments of indiscreet fervour." And she owned one day that at Benediction she could hardly restrain herself from rushing to the altar and clasping the monstrance in her arms.

She thought of a church only as the house of God. When censorious Catholics found fault with Dr. Ullathorne for erecting a handsome church at Coventry, because there were no "respectable people" to frequent it, Mother Margaret rebuked them with a ready humour. "The church," said she, "is for God, and He is *always respectable!*" Nothing, therefore, made her more indignant than when, as too often happens, the best work and decoration in a church are bestowed on those parts which meet the eye of the worshippers,

while that which is unseen is left plain. She would have preferred to have it the other way. She could weep on many occasions, but never did her tears flow more readily than when she heard of some noble and devoted deed. Thus, she quite broke down with emotion when she heard of a church in Spain where the inside of the tabernacle was lined with precious rubies. "One thing strikes me in England," she said to some ladies with whom she was staying shortly after she left Belgium: "I see you use mahogany for your cupboards, while you keep our Lord in deal." Instances could be multiplied at will of the sorrow caused to her by this sort of stinginess. When she first visited Stoke-on-Trent she was made almost ill by the sight of a pewter chalice used for Mass, and she never rested till she was able to replace it by one of silver.

When things were at the lowest ebb, and the Sisters had not even sufficient food to eat, even then it made her angry to see any economy practised in the chapel. "We must be sparing to ourselves," said she, "but never to God." "Don't stint Almighty God," she would say. "It would be better that we should want bread than that our Lord should be neglected. As for the poor, there are many to help them, but few people think of our hidden God."

The largeness of soul engendered in her by her simple life face to face with God marked her direction of the religious under her care. The details which have reached us of this side of her life show us how true was that friend's judgement which pronounced her to be the most wonderful compound of the natural and the supernatural. We learn how in her a rare loftiness of soul, which at times reminds us of St. Teresa, could be combined with the most shrewd common sense. She had the power of government largely developed, though when the burden of it was first laid on her she shrank from its responsibility, and was grievously oppressed for long years after it was imposed on her. She was keenly alive to her deficiencies both of nature and

education, and most fully meant what she said a short time before her death: "Almighty God willed that all the work should be His, so He chose out the lowest instrument He could find, so that no one else should have any part in it. You see, He chose a sinful woman, a sickly woman—a woman without family, without friends, without education, and without reputation. If He could have chosen anything lower He would, but He could not. So the work is His from beginning to end."

Mother Margaret Hallahan was essentially a self-made woman, if indeed the term can be fitly used of one who was so evidently God-made; and the study of her career may well make us rejoice in its evidence of the powers that lie in our human nature as such, without extraneous aids. In this light it does us good to be reminded how little she owed to the usual methods of cultivation, and we are inclined to think that no most exalted higher education could produce another like her. So it is with, to say the least of it, very mixed feelings that, in letters addressed to her spiritual daughters, full of the loftiest sentiments and counsels, we find the most absurd little blunders in spelling, and read, for instance, her exhortation to crush certain temptations as if they were *nats*. Throughout her correspondence are to be found words like *simpel* and *litel*, phonetically spelt. She never properly mastered the rules of arithmetic, and, with all her multifarious and well-ordered works, kept her accounts more in head than on paper. She often and often alludes to herself as an ignoramus, and signs herself to her letters as a "good-for-nothing old Mother." Yet her powers of government were so magnificent that probably, had she been called on to rule over an empire instead of over some communities of nuns, she would have been found equal to the task.

If her method of government can be described, it would be difficult to sum it up more concisely than by her own words, used in giving directions to one who, for the first time, found herself in the position of mistress of novices: "Put solid Christianity in, and take

the nonsense out!" She had a perfect horror of what, by a coinage of words to which she was addicted, she called *shim-sham* piety—a piety which puts externals before internal reality, devotion before obedience to God, and which consisted largely in emotions. "Take no notice of feelings," said she, "they always deceive us and lead us wrong. Keep to the one principle, to seek God and serve Him in darkness or in light, and to have but one intention, God's will and God's work." She habitually discouraged over-much talk about the spiritual state, judging that it fostered unreality. One Sister came to her with bitter lamentations about her difficulties in perseverance. "Ah, child," she said, without lifting her eyes from the letter she was writing, "you'll have your ups and downs—just tell me, will you, how to write down ten thousand?" and that was all the help the Sister could extract. To another who, with a little unreality, complained that to hold a candle at a religious function distracted her thoughts from God, she said, "It is not your own satisfaction you are to seek. If it is a distraction to you to hold a candle, think you are our Lord's candlestick for the time." "God make you a saint," she said to another, adding in the same breath, "and a tough job He'll have of it!"

Her own undying valour, and the constant strain of living her life for God in spite of suffering and consequent exhaustion, made her a little severe with what she called "faddiness" on the part of any of the Sisters, a word which in her language meant the making much of little ailments, the seeking of however small indulgences, or even betraying by word or sign the existence of any indisposition or endurable pain.

Mother Margaret was one of those to whom anything of introspection and self-analysing was, even under obedience, most painful. "When forced to fix my eyes on myself," she wrote once, "I can only make a great sign of the Cross over the abyss and go on looking up to God." In another document, in which, under obedience, she tried to make some manifestation of her spiritual state, we find these words: "I get quite

stupid over it when I begin to look at myself. I have tried for the last few years to forget self in every shape, both as regards body and soul, and to keep the eye of the mind as much as possible on God in all things, and not refer to self." This being her bent, Mother Margaret was very unsparing of those in the community whose tendency was to occupy themselves unduly in self-searchings and self-contemplation. "Cease all that examination," she writes to one; "it keeps you always more busy with yourself than with God. There are innumerable wants in the Church, many souls to convert, and many indifferent Catholics who want the last grace to bring them to their duties. Think of all these things and leave yourself in the hands of God with a perfect spirit of abandonment. I should weary of myself and lose all courage were I to occupy myself with myself. Keep the eye of the soul on our only good God. Be sure it is self-love and self-seeking that is occupying you now. . . . There is but one perfect Being, God and all His works. Let us be content with our own nothingness."

None possessed to a higher degree than Mother Margaret the art of saying the right thing to the right person. Hers was no wooden system, but one varied by her according to the individual with whom she had to deal. No doubt the Sister to whom the above was written was capable of profiting by the high spirituality of the words addressed to her. In another case, however, we find her addressing a Sister with a sarcasm which was no doubt very efficacious with her, but which might have shrivelled up another. "What!" she writes, "always busy with yourself? If you could but forget there was such a nasty thing in the world! I never think of praying for you in particular, because I feel sure you never forget yourself. I have to think of those who forget themselves."

Anything like affectation or a desire to edify was abhorrent to her. There was one Sister who, in her desire to be holy, looked pious. "I never like you less," said Mother Margaret to her, "than when you are

trying to be *extra good*." "If your interior be absorbed in God, the whole exterior will show it," was her commonsense remark to one who, in the matter of recollection, was apt to put the cart before the horse, and begin by the outside. "If you *are* recollected you will *look* it."

Perhaps the greatest trial Mother Margaret ever met with in her work for souls was when, towards the end of her life, the Government began to have a hand in the management of schools. No doubt she would have held the same inconvenient opinions now had she been alive, and would have been considered as hopelessly behind the age. It was as gall and wormwood to her to receive pecuniary aid from the lineal descendants of those governments which, not so many decades back, had persecuted the Church. "Is it likely," said she, with her relentless commonsense, "that people who a few years ago would have hanged and quartered us, would now be giving us money to make our children good Catholics?" And if education were not for the purpose of making children good Catholics she could not understand what could be its object. She did not care in the least for any proficiency in secular learning; and for holding this opinion we think she might be excused by even the most ardent educationalists, for she could not but be conscious how very well she had got on with a modicum of learning.

It was, however, for her own Sisters that she most sincerely disliked the system of cramming for examinations, which was the prominent effect of the Government grant. Obedience made her put her schools under Government, but her heart ached all the same; and she really rejoiced, both for their own sake and that of their teachers, when the children failed to pass the required test. "I am glad of it," she wrote to the Superioress of a Community whose schools had thus failed: "It will teach you that you and your Sisters are nuns, not schoolmistresses." She was most severe with those Sisters who "took" the education fever, and who "could not meditate, or say a Pater or Ave without

parsing it." It may have been one of these grammatical nuns who was, in Mother Margaret's presence, examining a class about which the following story is told, which we take from the Life of her written by her spiritual daughters, which has been the basis of this little sketch. "The subject was Bible history, and one of the questions being, 'Where did Abraham come from?' a small boy called out, with some satisfaction, 'From Mesopotamia.' 'What a long word!' said Mother Margaret; 'now I'll ask him some questions.' So she asked him if he liked plum-pudding for dinner, and more to the same effect, and then left the class. The next time she came the children were repeating by heart the Latin hymns of the Blessed Sacrament, and were getting through them at a rapid rate. She sat down and asked them how much they understood of what they were saying, and then gave them a beautiful instruction on these hymns, and the reverence with which they should be recited "It made me feel," writes the Sister who relates the anecdote, "how little I understood the spirit in which these children should be trained."

She disliked her Sisters to be in a bustle, and lead a life of "all go and do, and no food for the soul." But though she objected to fuss and hurry, she wished that they should never be idle, and liked them to be "too busy to have time for sin and selfishness." "If God is in your heart work will never drive Him out of it," was a constant maxim of hers. "Thank God," she exclaimed, "we work hard, pray hard, live hard. May it be so to the end. . . . None die before their time; and if they died of overwork and fasting, what better could they desire?"

It can be seen by some of the above anecdotes how severe and caustic Mother Margaret could be in her remarks; but what she said seldom or never left a sting behind it. As evidence of this we can cite the number of her Sisters who, when her biography was about to be written, were willing, nay anxious, to search their memories and place on record all the apparently cruel

snubs they had received at her hands. She knew what stuff each one was made of before she uttered these remarks; for the discernment of spirits was one of her gifts, and its effect was an almost unbounded influence over one and all. She knew this power of influence, and dreaded it, for it was a real grief to her if she found that any of her Sisters depended on her or were attached to her. Her gift of discernment made her know the individuality and wants of each to an unusual degree; all the same, she wished each one to be perfectly free, or, to use her own expression, "to have her tether," and to serve God as He prompted, not she. "Never lean on any one," was her maxim: "it must be God and yourself." She never leaned herself, and, in spite of her humility, never turned to others except by obedience. "I could not trust in man if I were to try," said she.

It is perhaps this last and very marked characteristic which has given rise to the erroneous notion that Mother Margaret's was a masculine nature. Never was there a greater mistake, as even the above few pages will have shown. Some of her virtues were no doubt virile, but what we are apt to call virility is in reality that higher platform of self-reliance, self-control, and endurance which belongs to one sex as much as to the other. But we may assert unchallenged that Mother Margaret's defects were very much those of a woman. She acted on her feelings in a way which is said to be essentially feminine. Reason, or anyhow what may be called reasoned-out reason, had very little to do with her undertakings, her choices, and her dislikes. She acted by a sort of instinct; and all who have read her life must admit that her instincts were very sure. While she was alive, and able to be the interpreter of her own conclusions, there were but few mistakes; but her trust in her own instincts may have caused some of the many monetary difficulties which have beset her daughters since her death. She was, by her own showing, no accountant, and though in life, by the help of God and her own rare gift of extracting timely aid from

man, she invariably got clear of all menacing embarrassments, she was unable to bequeath the secret of her success to her spiritual children.

The exterior of some people is, as it were, an outward sign of what they are within; but there was a something of reserve and humility about Mother Margaret which forebade any index to her higher gifts to appear in her outward person. The contemplation of Mother Margaret's portrait is a study in itself, for it reveals so much, and yet conceals so very much more. One who knew nothing of its subject would pronounce her to have been the exemplification of good-humoured, contented benevolence. Of her benevolence, as a leading feature of her character, there could be no doubt, though, perhaps, it belonged to her natural rather than to her supernatural virtues. It excluded no human being except those who dared to raise their heads and defy God, and it embraced the whole of the animal creation. She once consulted a doctor about a lump on her head which, though she had poulticed it, refused to yield to treatment. "Why," said he, laughing, after he had examined it, "that is your bump of benevolence;" and this story might go far towards establishing the accuracy of phrenological assertions. Moreover, in spite of the severity of her life and her constant sufferings she was decidedly stout. "The doctor tells me I am getting fat," she wrote from Malvern, whither she had gone to take the waters on the unique occasion in her life when she was persuaded to pay attention to her health. "It will be a cure for vanity, and a punishment for all rash-judgement; for I always had a dislike to fat priests and nuns. I have a comfort that there are some fat saints in heaven. St. Thomas Aquinas was very fat; and I think it is the mark of a true Dominican." This "fatness" then, besides being a mortification, was as a cloak of humility to her; and by enduing her with a look of general placid content, cast a veil over her which hid from the eyes of the world both the favours which she received from God,

and the heroism with which she suffered for His sake. "God alone" could not have been so wholly her motto had any one been able to guess how intensely He was all in all to her.

One of those who knew her in life has thus summed up her character in a few words: "Mother Margaret was a *wonderful* woman—the most extraordinary combination of the natural and supernatural that ever lived"; and it cannot be rash to say that therein lay the key to the secret of her influence. It has been said with great truth, though perhaps with some temerity, that to be a real saint requires genius as well as sanctity. In the light of this judgement we may say that though Mother Margaret was no saint in the ordinary acceptation of the word, still she possessed to a very marked degree the stuff for the making of a saint, and was, though of course in an inferior degree, made of the same material which God fashioned into a St. Catherine and a St. Teresa.

HOW TO BECOME A CATHOLIC.

MANY persons who attend Catholic services, impressed with what they see and hear, feel a desire to become members of the Catholic Church, or at all events to obtain more information about it, so as to be able better to decide whether they ought to join it or not.

Is it very difficult to become a Catholic?

By no means. Make known your desire to some priest, and he will explain to you all that is necessary.

But if I address myself to a priest, will he not drag me into his Church, whether I like it or not, whereas perhaps on closer acquaintance I shall not wish to join it?

Not for the world would he dream of trying to make you a Catholic against your will. On the contrary, even if you were anxious to be received then and there, you would find that the priest would tell you to wait. He would tell you that it was first of all necessary for you to receive a course of instruction, so that you might come to understand what the Catholic Church teaches and practises. Only when he was satisfied that you really understood what you were about, and

that you were firmly determined to embrace the Catholic faith in the belief that it is the only true one, would he consent to receive you.

What then will he propose to do, if I tell him I should like to become a Catholic?

He will ask you to mention the day of the week and the hour at which you can come to him for instruction in the faith and practices of the Catholic Church; and he will then make an appointment with you for that purpose. During the course of your instruction he will explain to you all the great truths revealed by God, which every Christian is bound to know and to believe; he will unfold to you the moral law contained in the commandments of God; he will teach you about prayer and the sacraments, the means appointed by God to enable you to keep the law. He will tell you the vices which you must avoid, and the virtues which you must practise, if you desire to save your soul; and he will enlighten you with regard to the services, the rites and ceremonies, and the various religious usages of the Catholic religion. He will answer any questions you may put, and will endeavour to clear up any difficulties which you may have.

And when he has done all this, what will he do next?

He will ask you whether, knowing what you know of the Catholic faith, you wish to embrace it? and if you say, "Yes, I do," he will at last admit you to the One Fold of the One Shepherd.

But how shall I find a priest who will do all this for me?

Very easily. Priests are only too anxious to give persons drawn to the Catholic Church as much and as kind help as lies in their power. If then you have a Catholic friend you might ask him or her to take you to some priest for a talk on the matter. Or if you do not know any Catholics, write a note to some priest whom you have seen or heard, or call at his house and ask for him; or if you see him about, go up and speak to him: he will not take it as an intrusion. If you have no particular priest in mind, ask at the door for any one: say 'Can I speak to one of the Fathers?' and, if at home and disengaged, he will come.

But what shall I say to him? How shall I make the start?

You need not feel any anxiety about starting the conversation. You might take this paper with you and say it had encouraged you to ask for him; or you might say that you had some thoughts of becoming a Catholic, and would like to know something more about the Catholic Church.

Suppose I do not exactly want to become a Catholic, but have been told certain things about Catholics, and wish to hear what a Catholic priest has to say in answer to them. Would he think me intruding if I called merely to ask him this?

Certainly not: he would be most pleased to give

you all the explanation in his power. And never fear lest he should consider some of the questions offensive. For instance, you might wish to know if it is true that Catholics do not believe in Christ, or worship images, or that priests give leave to commit sins for fixed payments. Ask such questions by all means. He will willingly explain matters to you, and, instead of his being offended with you, it will end by you both having a hearty laugh over the absurdity of the popular misconceptions.

One last question I should like to ask: If I call on a priest in this way, will he insist on having my name and address, so that he can come after me?

He certainly will not. He will leave you free to give them or not as you like best. Do not give them, if you prefer to be unknown to him till you know him better.

If God has put the thought of becoming a Catholic into your heart, do not let the fear of what anyone may think, or say, or do, deter you from following it up.

Remember the words of our Lord, "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?"

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WHY DO CATHOLICS PRAY TO THE SAINTS?

APART from the principal reason, which is because the Catholic Church, which has been commissioned by Christ to teach all nations (St. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20), sanctions and recommends the practice, Catholics pray to the angels and Saints because

I. The practice is **Scriptural.** Our Lord Jesus Christ has said:

"But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage. Neither can they die any more; for they are **equal unto the angels** and are the children of God, being children of the resurrection" (St. Luke xx. 35, 36).

The Saints therefore being "equal unto the angels" it is important to inquire what the office of the angels is and what relations they hold with mankind.

"He shall give His angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways. . . . they shall bear thee up in their hands" (Psalm xci. 11, 12).

"Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven" (St. Matt. xviii. 10).

"Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?" (Heb. i. 14.)

If then the angels are our **protectors and guardians,** the **Saints** who are **equal to them** can be the same.

Again:—

"Likewise I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth" (St. Luke xv. 10).

So is there the same joy in the presence of the Saints, their equals.

Once more:—

"Then the angel of the Lord answered and said, O Lord of hosts, how long wilt Thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the city of Judah? . . . And the Lord answered the angel that talked with me with good words and comfortable words" (Zech. i. 12).

"Call now if there be any that will answer thee, and to which of the Saints (*i.e.* angels) wilt thou turn" (Job v. 1).

Of this passage a Protestant commentator, Dillmann, says:—

"They (angels) appear as intercessors for men with God bringing men's needs before him and mediating in their behalf. This work is easily connected with their general office of labouring for the good of men especially of the pious; still it is here for the first time ascribed to them" (*Comm.* in loc. p. 44).

If therefore the angels **pray and intercede** for mankind, so also can the **Saints** who are equal to them. And that they do is also distinctly stated in Rev. viii. 3, 4.

"And another angel came and stood at the altar having a golden censer, and there was given to him much incense that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense which came with the prayers of the saints ascended up before God out of the angel's hand" (Rev. viii. 3, 4).

Lastly:—

"The angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads; and let my name be named on them and the name of my father Abraham and Isaac, and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth" (Genesis xlviii. 16).

"He had power over the angel and prevailed: he wept and made supplication unto him" (Hosea. xii. 4).

If therefore it is lawful **to pray to the angels** it is equally lawful to pray to **the Saints their equals.**

II. The practice is **traditional.**

2nd Century. St. Ignatius (Ep. ad Trall. n. 13) writes:—

"Be subject to your bishop as to the commandment and to the presbytery likewise . . . My spirit be your expiation, not now only, but when I shall have attained to God."

3rd Century. Origen (t. 1. De Oratione n. 1, pp. 213-15) says:—

"But not the High Priest (Jesus Christ) alone prays with those who pray sincerely, but also the angels . . . as also the souls of the saints who have already fallen asleep."

4th Century. St. Cyril of Jerusalem (Catech.Myst. v. n. ix. p. 328) declares:—

"We then commemorate also those who have fallen asleep before us, first, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God by their prayers and intercessions, may receive our petitions."

5th Century. The great St. Augustine (t. v. Serm. 285 n. 5, col. 1685):—

"For the other faithful departed we pray, for martyrs we do not pray: for they departed so perfect as not to be our clients but our advocates."

Inscriptions in the Catacombs—the earliest Christian burying places in Rome.

De Rossi in his "*Triplice Omaggio*" and "Collection of Epitaphs" (as quoted by Kraus, in his *Real. Encycl.* in the Article on Prayer):—

"Ask for us in thy prayers because we know thou art in Christ" (n. 15). "Beseech for thy sister" (n. 19). "We commend to thee, O holy Bassilla, Crescentius, and our daughter Micena" (n. 17).

III. The practice is in accordance with **common sense.**

If it is lawful for a man to ask for the prayers of his fellow Christians while they are on this earth, weighed down by all the disabilities attaching to man's fallen nature (Eph. vi. 18, 19; 1 Tim. ii. 1) why is it unlawful

to ask the prayers of those same Christians when they have won their crowns and entered into the joy of their Lord?"

If it is an obligation of Christian charity for Christians to pray for one another—even for their enemies in this world (St. Matt. v. 44, St. James v. 16).—are we to suppose that this obligation ceases with entrance into the next?

If "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man, availeth much" (St. James v. 16), it may be presumed that the effectual fervent prayers of a righteous man, made perfect, availeth more.

In short, if it is lawful to ask for the prayers of a sinner, **it is lawful to ask for the prayers of a Saint.** The objection that the invocation of angels and Saints interferes with the office of Christ as sole mediator between God and man is founded on a confusion of ideas. Our Divine Lord is the sole mediator of redemption between God and man, but every one who prays for his fellow creatures, be he a saint in heaven, or a sinner upon earth, is in a sense a mediator, a mediator of intercession, and his prayers are acceptable to God not through his own merits but through those of the one mediator, Jesus Christ. So far from the invocation of Saints detracting from the mediatorship of Christ, the practice adds a greater glory to it. Let us, Christians, therefore, who are engaged in warfare in this world with the powers of darkness, constantly call upon the holy angels and the blessed Saints who are reigning in light, and pray with all our hearts—"Holy angels and Saints of God, pray for us and protect us."

NOTE—The Scriptural references in this tract are taken from the Protestant authorized version.

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